

THE MAYA VASE BOOK



A CORPUS OF ROLLOUT PHOTOGRAPHS OF MAYA VASES

by JUSTIN KERR

WITH ESSAYS BY

JENNIFER T. TASCHEK AND JOSEPH W. BALL

STEPHEN D. HOUSTON

DAVID STUART

KARL TAUBE

DICEY TAYLOR

EDITED BY BARBARA AND JUSTIN KERR

VOLUME 3

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VOLUME 3

THE MAYA VASE BOOK VOL. 3

THE MAYA VASE BOOK VOL. 3
A Corpus of Rollout Photographs of Maya Vases

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PREFACE

With Volume 3, I have achieved the culmination of a secret desire, the full exploration of a Maya vase -- from the discovery of the vase to the meaning of the writing and painting on the vase. I am delighted to publish an article by Jennifer Taschek and Joseph Ball describing their excavation of an extraordinarily beautiful vase, and beyond that, a complementary paper by Stephen D. Houston, David Stuart and Karl Taube, analyzing the iconography and text on that vase. As usual, this kind of study provokes as many questions as it provides answers. As you read the article you may ask some of the same questions I asked. "How and why did a vase with the name of a Lord of Naranjo wind up in the tomb of someone in another site," and "where was the workshop and who was the scribe who painted this vase for export"? The answers can only come from the further study of the material itself. There are hundreds of vases in *bodegas* with in-depth archaeological context that have yet to be looked at by epigraphers and iconographers. We have only begun this exciting exploration. As Joseph Ball said, "to have the cooperation of archaeologists, epigraphers, and art historians working in conjunction on a project is exciting and fulfils the aims of scholarship."

We could not agree more. It has been our wish that these pages would serve as the *hich* (the writing surface) on which the information that can be elicited from the vases, could be published. The articles on pages 490 to 512 prove that by working together, the various disciplines have much to offer to each other. Although it is unfortunate when vases are removed from their original context, there is still an enormous amount of information to be gleaned from these orphans. At present, most of the information about text and iconography comes from the study of unprovenanced vases.



What role did Maya women play in their society? Dicey Taylor has been studying women in Maya society for some years and in her paper in this volume, she examines womens' dress and explores the iconography of the Moon goddess.

In Steve Houston's article on dwarfs, his drawing of Stela 15 from Dos Pilas is being published for the first time. The role of the dwarf in Maya elite society still is an enigma; however his paper sheds more light on the subject.

In this volume, we are pleased to be able to

THE KERR DATABASE OF
ROLLOUTS OF MAYA VASES IS
NOW AVAILABLE ON THE WEB

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RESEARCH FACILITY

print some pages in color. We tried to choose vases where color was integral to the composition of the vase, or unusual, or just very beautiful. We wish we could print more vases in color, but the cost of production limits our efforts.

This past year has been very productive. I was able to record, in rollout form, some of the vases that were excavated at Copan. I wish to thank Ricardo Agurcia and Dr. Oscar Cruz of the Copan project for their help. Thanks also to Linda Schele, who was of invaluable help while I was photographing. Through the efforts of Kathleen Berrin and Kathe Hodgson of the De Young Museum and collectors from the San Francisco area, we were able to bring the new portable rollout camera to the west coast and photograph many vases, assuring the publication of future volumes. Offers of articles for Volume 4 have already come in from a number of scholars, so the project continues. Without the endeavors of Barbara Kerr, this volume would not exist. I thank her for her untiring efforts in editing and keeping the book constant and readable.

Volume 4 will include a compendium of numbers from the Smithsonian Institution's neutron activation project under the direction of Ron Bishop. Samples

taken from thousands of shards and vessels have been subjected to chemical analysis using neutron activation, and many of these vessels have been published in the Vase Books. The neutron activation project numbers will be listed with our file numbers, thereby affording the scholar another dimension of information.

Although the following information has been published in previous volumes, I am including it again. I am using the abbreviations PY, CX, CV, IN, MD, and BW throughout the volumes in order to add information about the type of vessel pictured.

These abbreviations are:

PY	Polychrome
CX	Codex style
CV	Carved (Clay or Stone)
IN	Incised
MD	Molded
BW	These are vases painted with

black line on a white background. The rim is painted black. Most of these vases refer to names, titles, and family associations. They often have emblem glyphs and minimal decoration. File No. 1383 is an example of this type of vase. The Black and White vases are different from the Codex vases, in that the Codex vases are generally black or brown line on a beige background and

relate to mythological subjects. I believe that the motifs painted on the BW vases (the so-called fleur-de-lis etc.) are flowers and seeds, which can be associated with regenerative themes.

I have also used abbreviations for the following publications:

MS

The Maya Scribe and His World
Michael Coe,
The Grolier Society, N.Y. 1972

OG

Old Gods and Young Heroes,
Michael Coe,
The Israel Museum,
Jerusalem, 1978

BOD

The Maya Book of the Dead,
F. Robiscek and D. Hales
University of Virginia Art Museum,
Charlottesville, 1981

BOK

The Blood of Kings,
Linda Schele and Mary E. Miller
Kimbell Art Museum,
Fort Worth, 1986

Information about all of the vases has been entered into a computer database.

This information is broken down into both physical and iconographic data. There are at present 156 different fields or categories that make up the record on each vase. Where there is only a rim text, that fact is recorded and referenced as to whether or not it is a PSS, or whether a *TZIB* or a *U TZIB* is present. A sample of the categories recorded are types of vases, (polychrome, codex, incised, or carved), and scenes represented on the vases, (ballgame, hunt, warfare, cosmos, etc.). The classification of the characters that appear on the vases is also recorded. If one wished to know, for example, the file numbers of vases on which God A or God N appears, or where God D appears in conjunction with the hero twins or other gods, that information can be solicited from the database.

Certain glyphs have also been selected to be part of the record. Hand-holding-fish, T714, and Akbal, T504, are examples of the glyphs included. The dictionary of the database and the database itself is available to anyone who wishes to make use of this information. To those people who already have copies of the database, there are some new fields and, of course, more vases. If you wish an update, just send along a disk.

I am currently turning the photographs into graphic files to go along with the database. However these files use an enormous amount of bytes and until we have some standard compression scheme or viable optical disk, I will send the files only on special request.



Again, I must insert a caution. Many of the vases that are published here have been restored. As anyone who has worked in the field knows, very few vases ever come to light of day in pristine condition. Therefore, judgements have to be made and I have been very careful in only publishing what seems to me to be more correct than not. When there is restoration on a vase, but there is information to be gained, I feel it is necessary to publish it. However, the caution stands. If you question the validity of the painting, look at other vases with the same scene and text. There is much to be learned by making these comparisons. There is even something to be learned from recognizing a restorer's style. I hope that by continuing to enlarge the corpus of rollout photographs, and by making a larger sample available, more students will be inspired to study the vases.

The rules for using the rollout photographs are simple. There is no need for permission to use any of the photographs in a scholarly work or paper or published in a

not-for-profit book, as permission is hereby granted and implicit to any scholar or student. The copyright notice and date, with the file number must accompany the rollout. Rollout photographs may not be used in any commercial or profit-making book or venture, without prior written permission and discussion of fees.

Justin Kerr
New York
October 1991

THE CORPUS

THIS
VOLUME IS
DEDICATED TO
MICHAEL COE AND
LINDA SCHELE. TO MIKE,
WHO SHOWED ME THE WAY,
AND TO LINDA, FOR KEEPING ME
 ON THE PATH. 



© Kerr 1978

Ht, 28.3 Dia. 13.8 Cir. 43.3 cm PY

File No. 767



© Kerr 1986
Ht, 18.2 Dia. 11.5 Cir. 32.0 cm PY

File No. 2942

This scene represents four aspects of God Aprime. He is also seen on K2884 and K2886, where his glyphic name is Mol Ko Chi. (See Kerr, J. *The Transformation of Xbalanque in the Third European Maya Symposium in Mexico*).



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Ht, 10.5 Dia. 6.0 Cir. 18.5 cm CV

File No. 2957

Stone



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Ht, 9.7 Dia. 6.0 Cir. 18.5 cm CV

File No. 2958

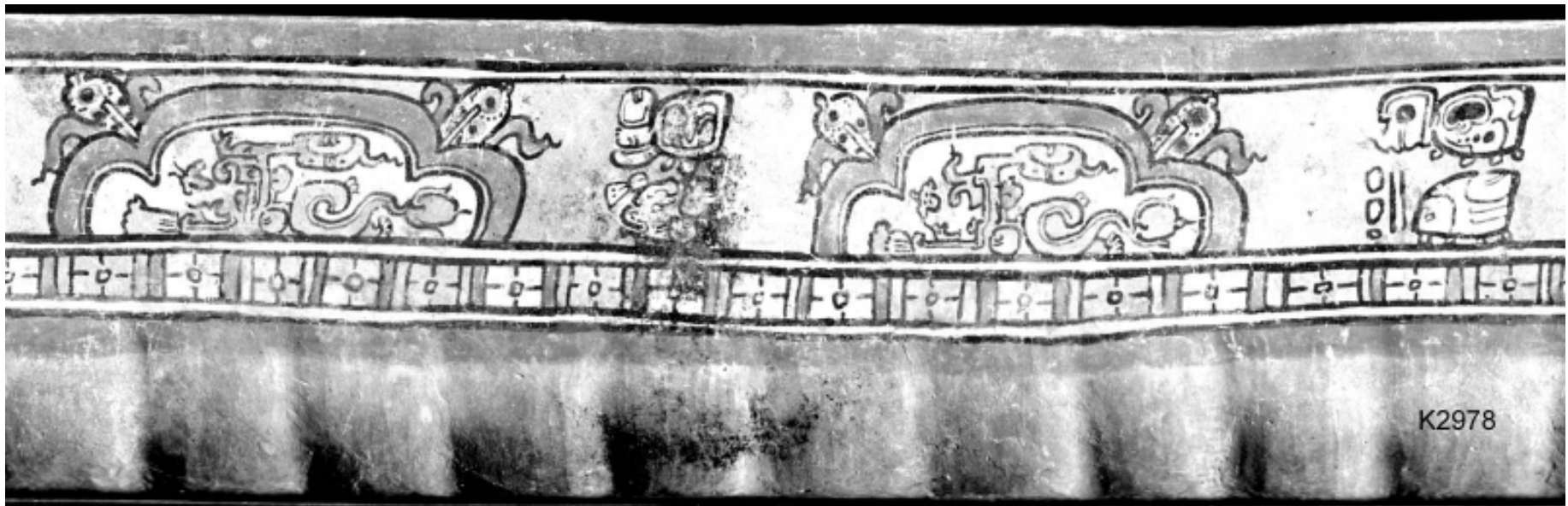
Stone



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Ht, 10.7 Dia. 12.5 Cir. 39.2 cm CX

File No. 2970

God K (Kawil)



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Ht, 12.8 Dia. 13.5 Cir. 43 cm PY

File No. 2978



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Ht, 19.2 Dia. 14.0 Cir. 48.0 cm PY

File No. 2993

See J.E.S. Thompson, *Maya Archaeologist*, p. 143
for a similar vessel.



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Ht. 15.7 Dia. 13.5 Cir. 41.3 cm PY

File No. 2994

Possibly both Hun Ahpu and Hun Batz or Hun Chuen as scribes.
See M.D. Coe, *Supernatural Patrons of Maya Scribes and Artists in Social Process in Maya History*, ed. Norman Hammond, Academic Press, NY 1978



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Composite rollout PY

File No. 3007



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Ht. 11.5 Dia. 15.0 Cir. 43.5 cm CX

File No. 3025

God K (Kawil)



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Ht. 31.8 Dia. 13.7 Cir. 44.9 cm PY

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Ht. 33.8 Dia. 15.7 Cir. 42.7 cm CV and IN

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Ht. 14.0 Dia. 13.0 Cir. 37.0 cm CX

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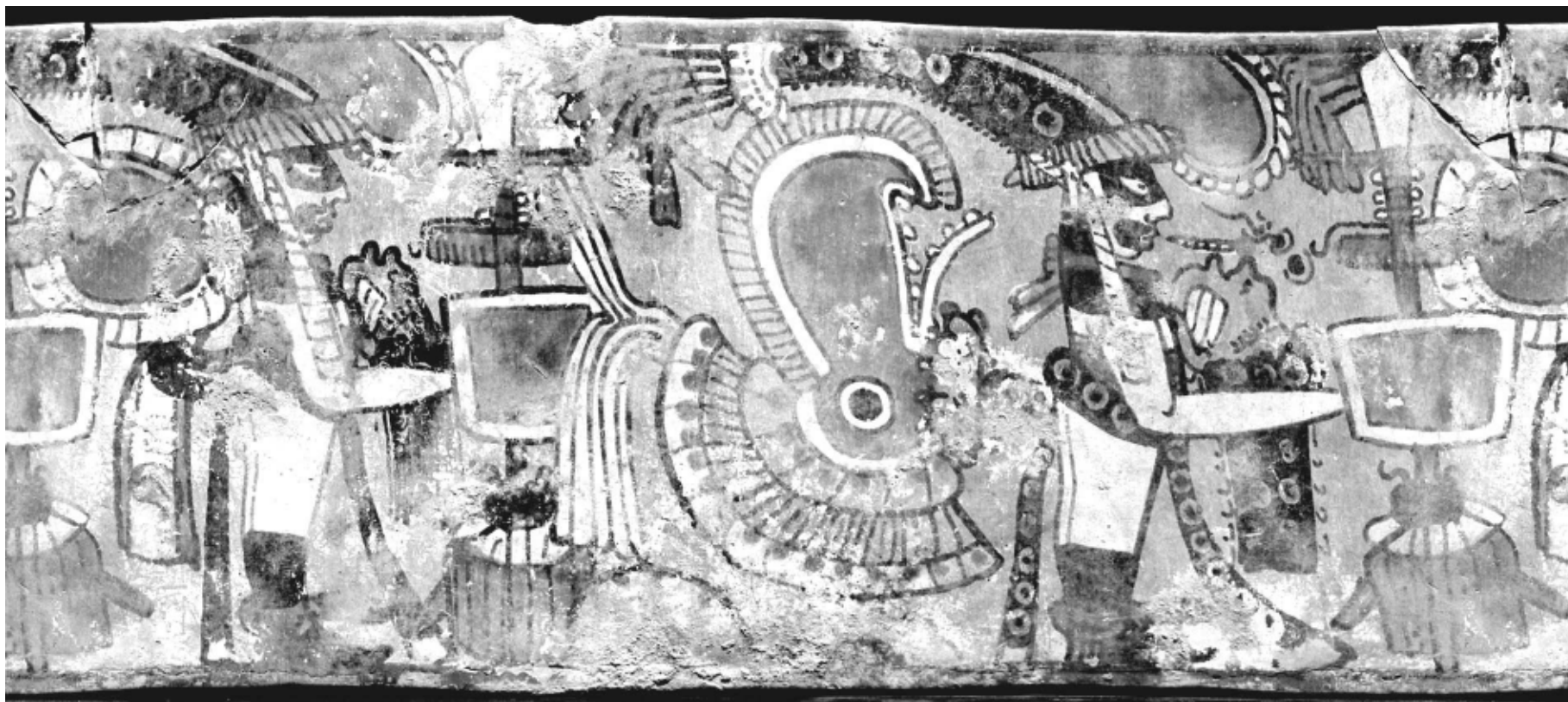
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Ht. 9.5 Dia. 23.7 Cir. 70 cm IN

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Bowl



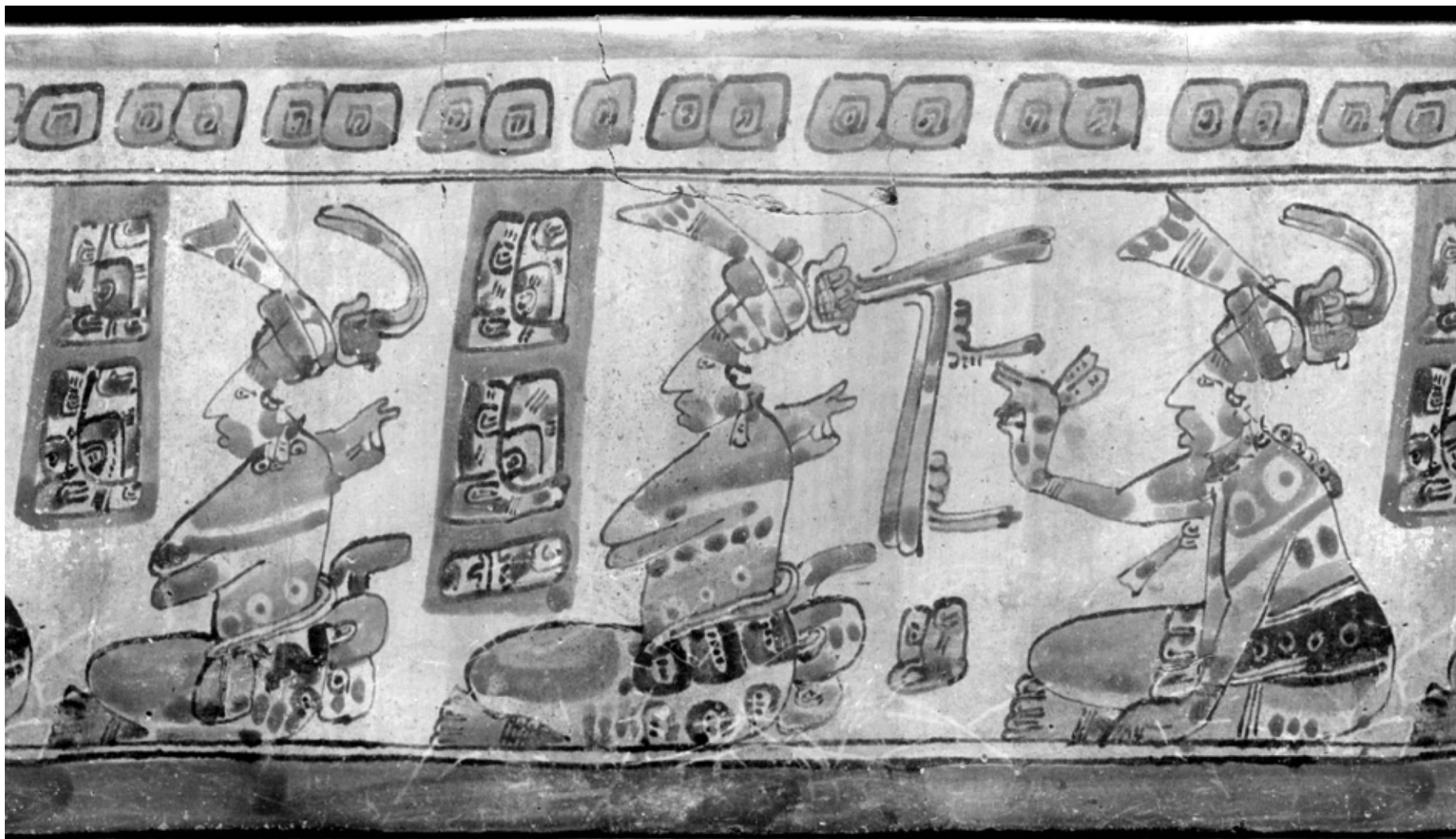
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Ht. 15.2 Dia. 15.2 Cir. 44.0 cm IN

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Alabaster

The text mentions the name of Yax Pak of Copan.



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K3366

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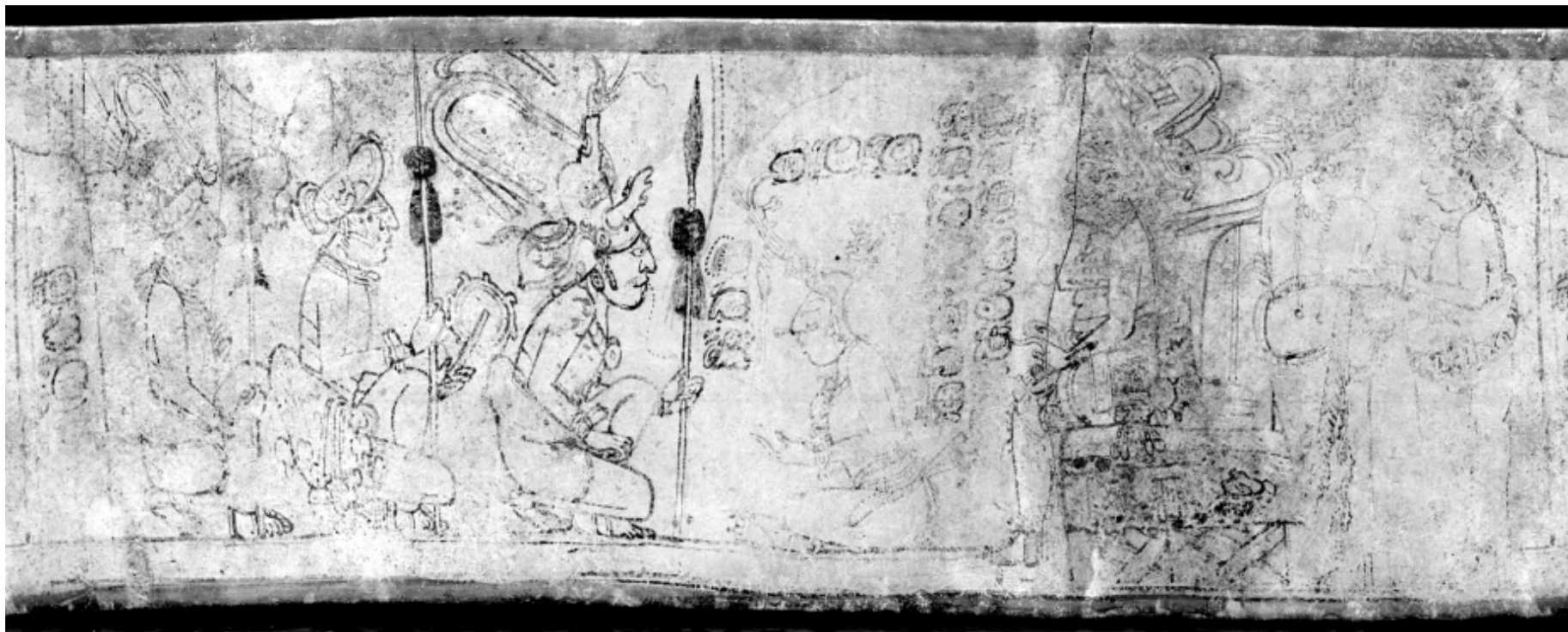
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Emblem Glyph - Ucanal



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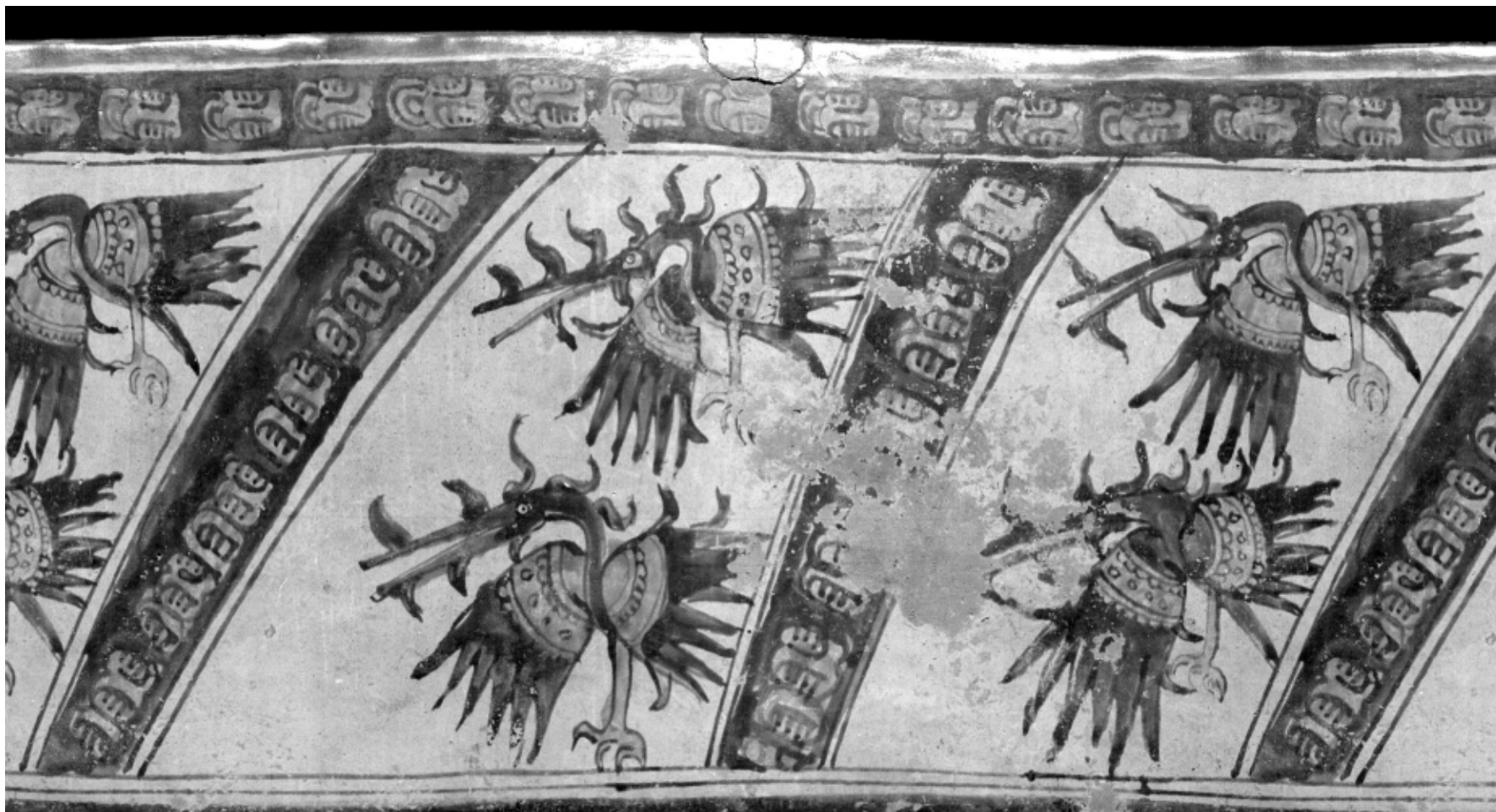
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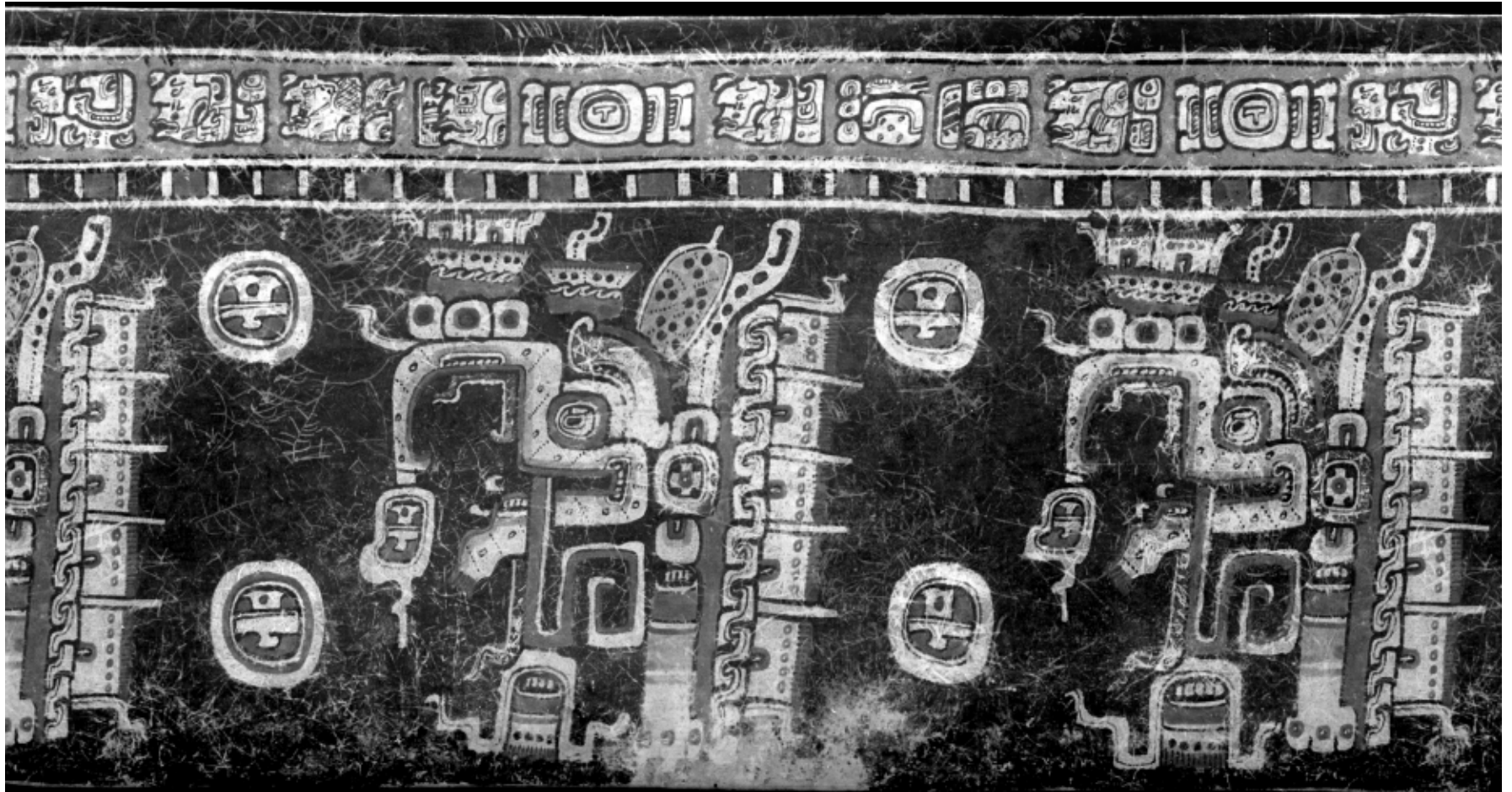
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Ht. 10.2 Dia. 16.1 Cir. 52.8 cm PY Stucco Bowl

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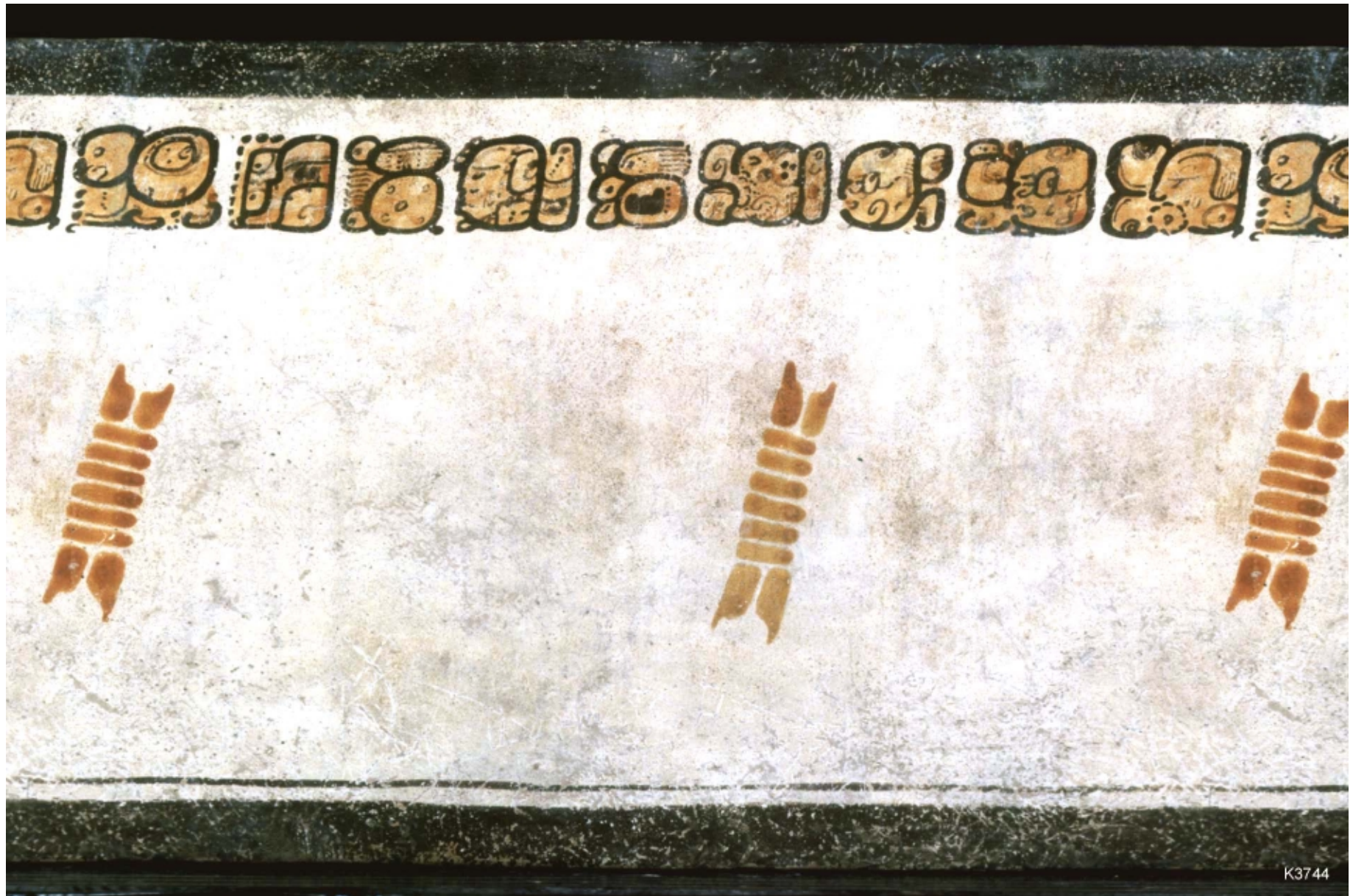
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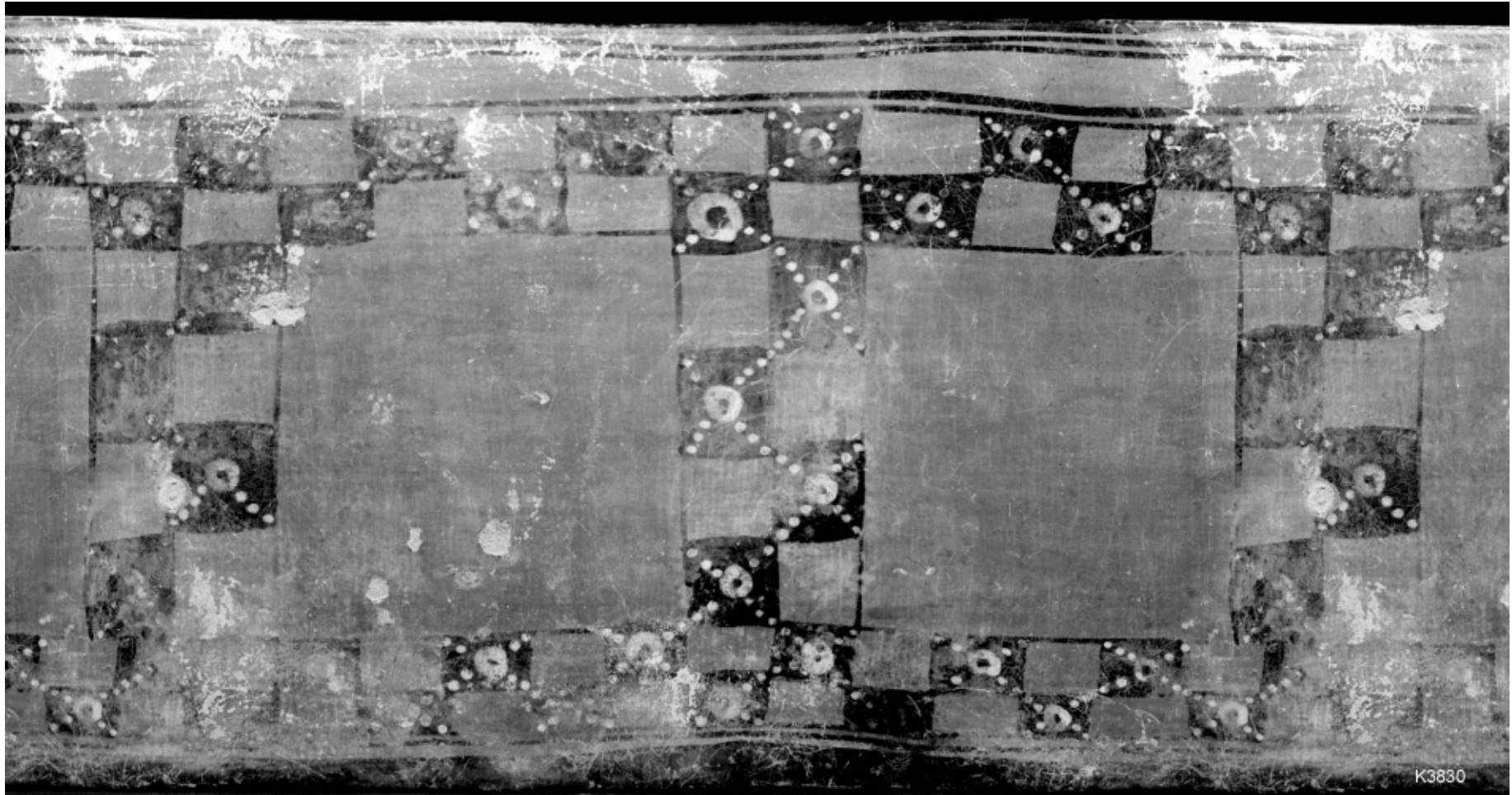
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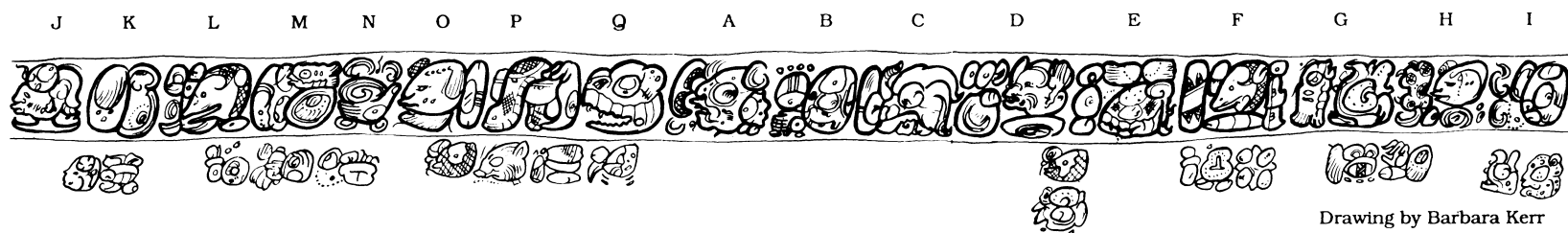


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Emblem Glyph - Nimli Punit



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Ht. 21.0 Dia. 12.8 Cir. 47.5 cm PY

File No. 4120



Container with handle and
locking lid.
Arrows point to the lugs
and receptacles.



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File No. 4143



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Ht. 14.3 Dia. 15.5 Cir. 47.8 cm PY

File No. 4151

Linda Schele suggested looking for Maya words sounding like *xi* as the object coming from the blowgun is marked with a small face. In Tztozil, there is a word *si*, *sib*, meaning river pebble or round stone.



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Ht. 16.9 Dia. 15.0 Cir. 47.8 cm PY

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Ht. 9.5 Dia. 15.3 Cir. 51.0 cm CV

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Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, DC



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Ht. 10.5 Dia. 10.5 Cir. 45.5 cm CV Stone

File No. 4332

Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, DC

See Comments on a Marble Onyx Bowl
at Dumbarton Oaks by Davis Stuart.



Drawing by David Stuart



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Ht. 11.7 Dia. 12.0 Cir. 35.0 cm PY

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Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, DC



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Ht. 18.5 Dia. 16.5 Cir. 50.6 cm PY

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Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, DC



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Ht. 11.0 Dia. 15.9 Cir. 46.0 cm CV Onyx

File No. 4340

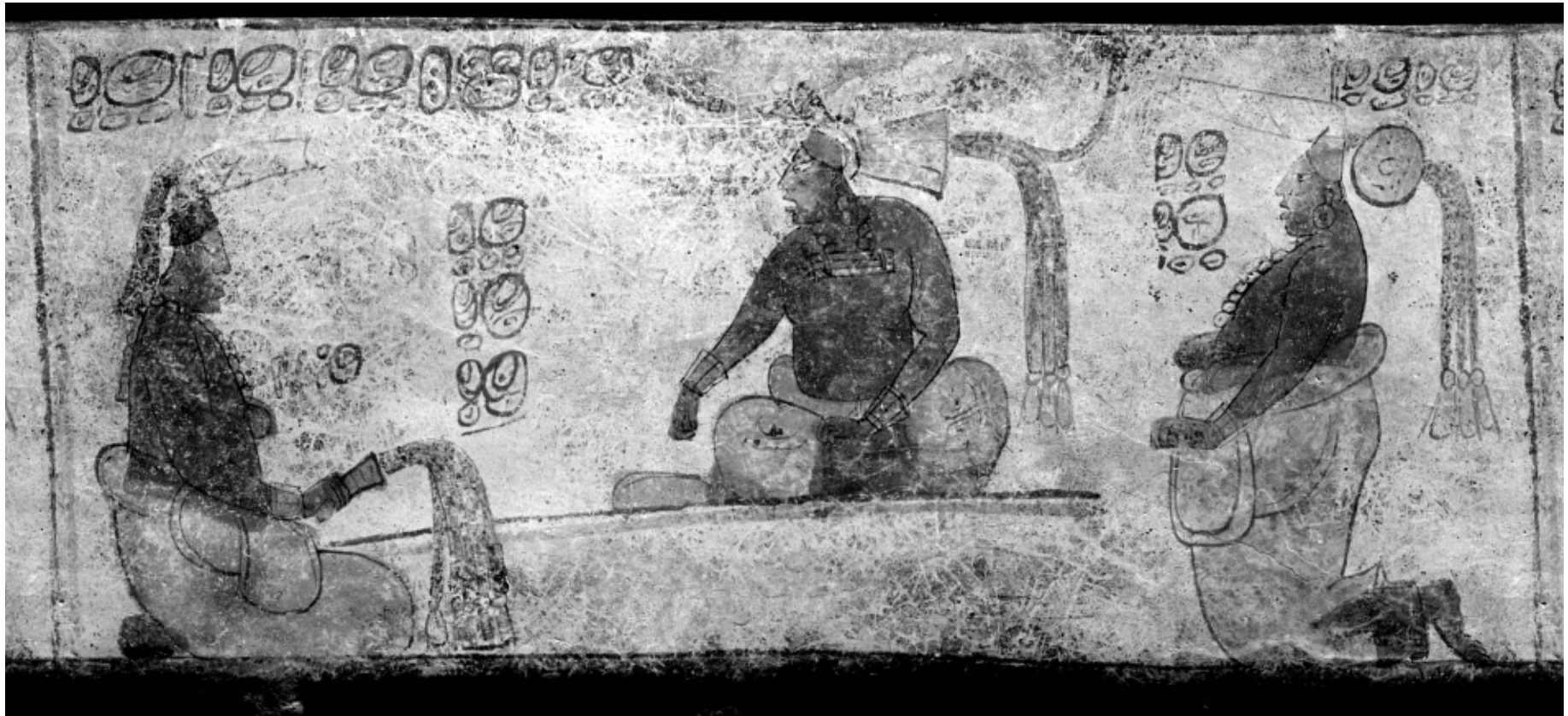
Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, DC



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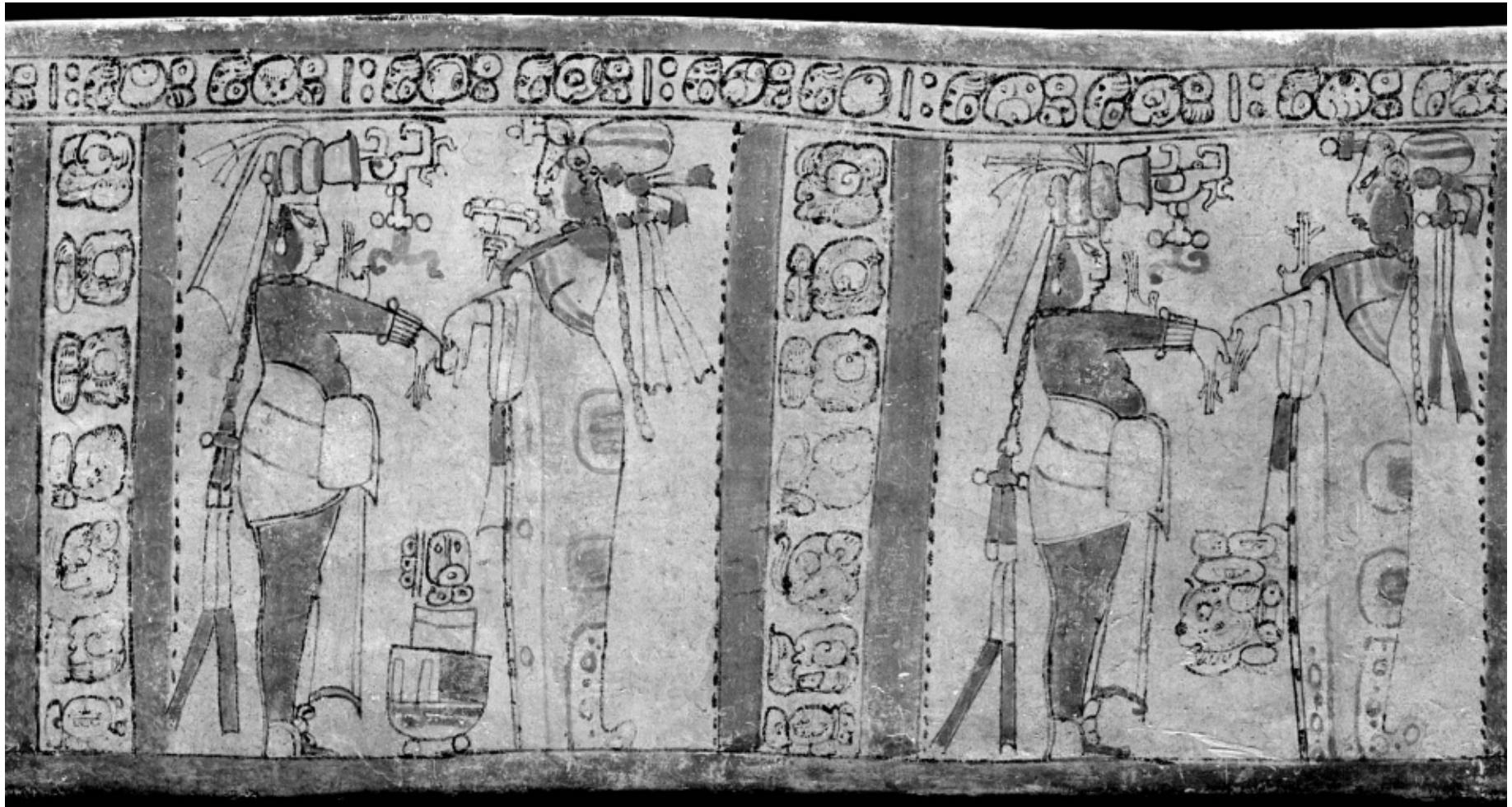
Ht. 10.6 Dia. 14.0 Cir. 40.0 cm BW

File No. 4354



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Ht. 17.5 Dia. 12.0 Cir. 37.5 cm PY

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Ht. 19.0 Dia. 11.5 Cir. 36.0 cm PY

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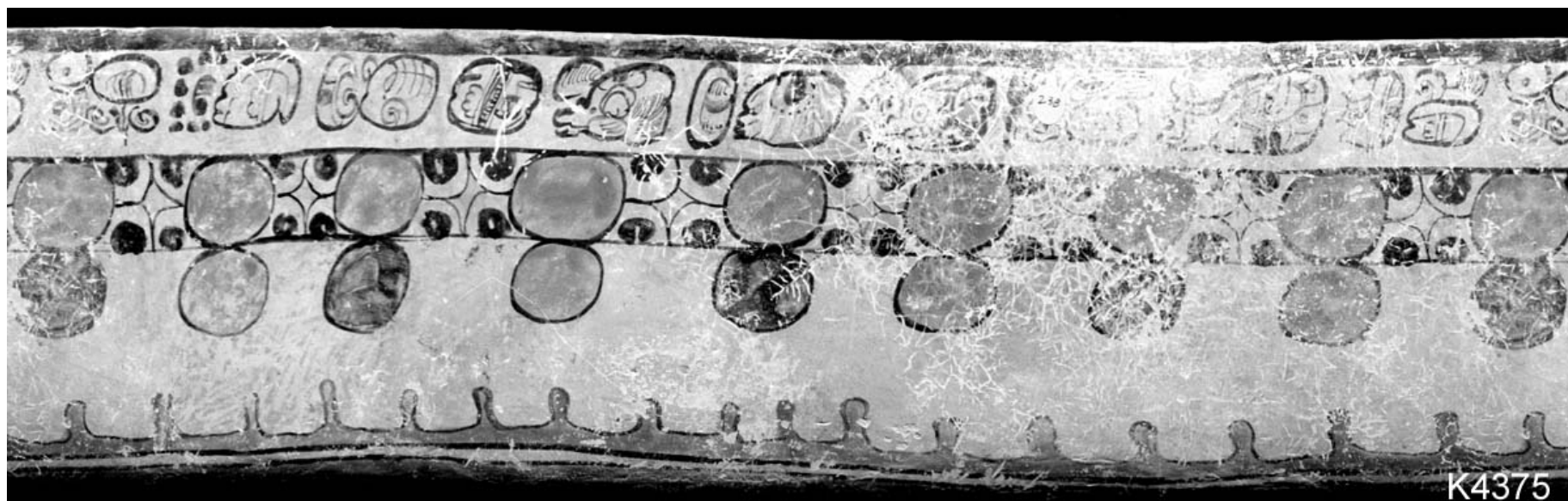
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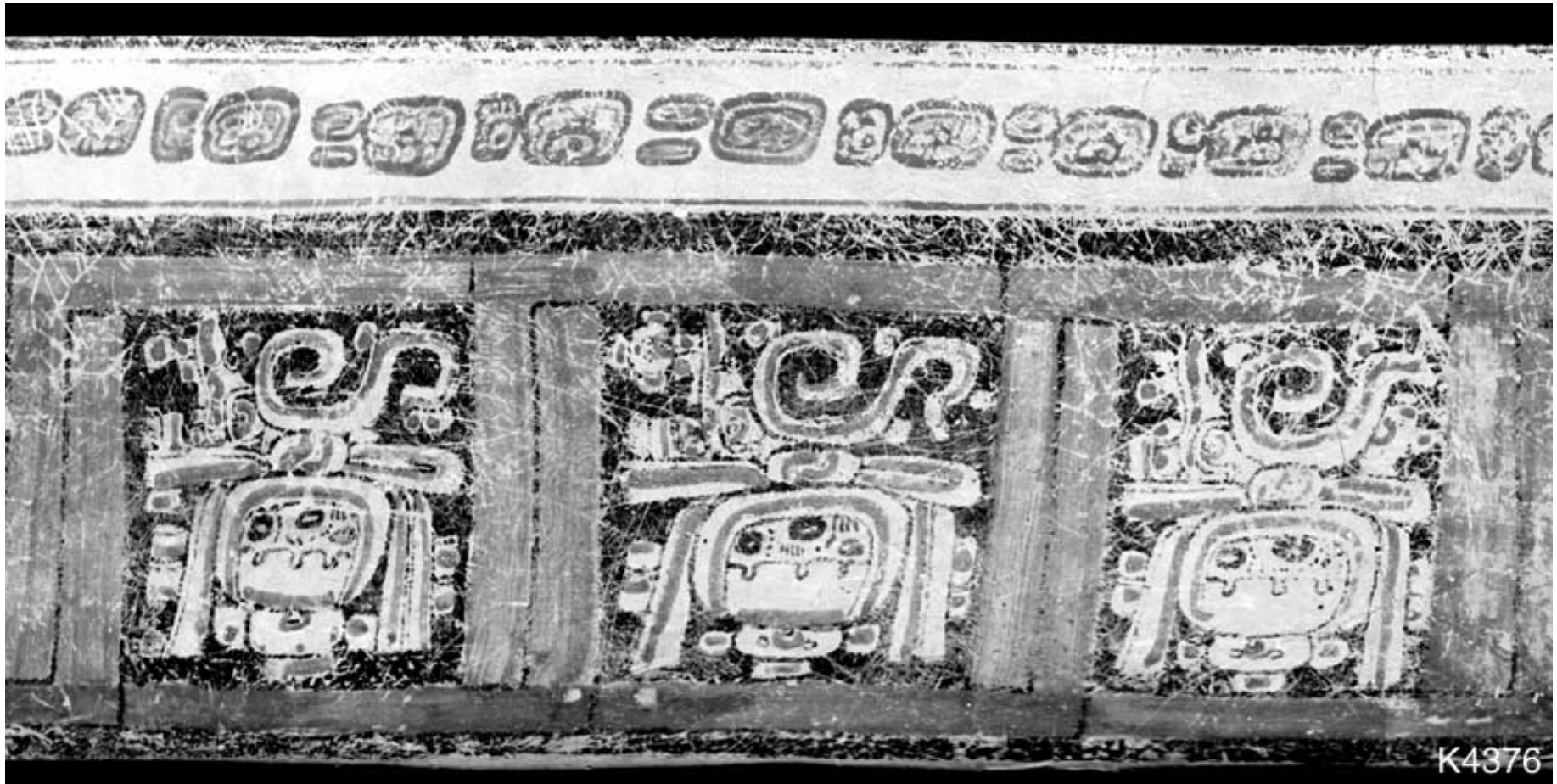
Bowl



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Ht. 16.0 Dia. 18.5 Cir. 57.4 cm PY

File No. 4375

Bowl



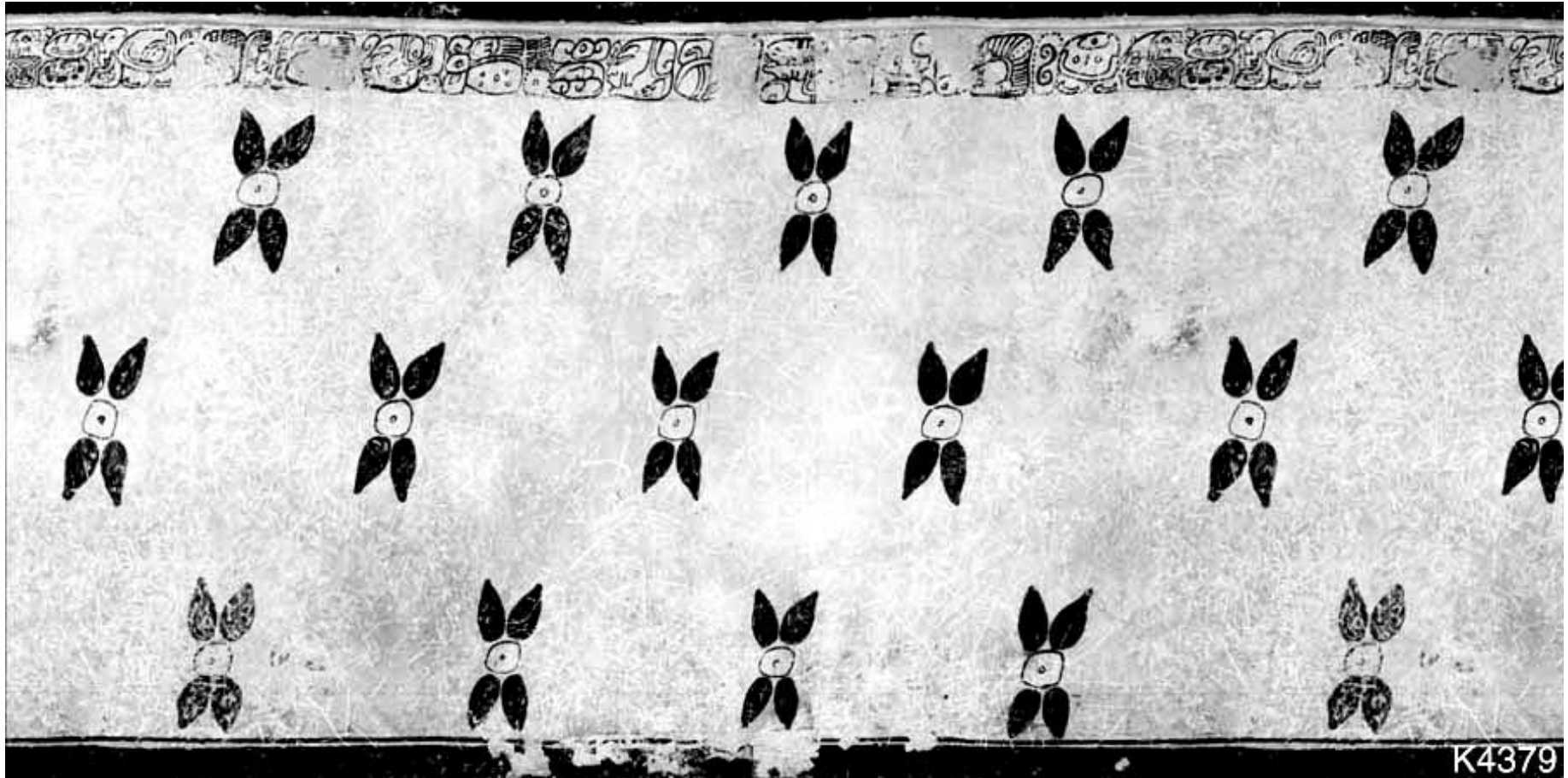
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Ht. 9.7 Dia. 16.0 Cir. 49.0 cm PY

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Ht. 26.5 Dia. 11.5 Cir. 38.5 cm BW

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Yale Art Gallery, New Haven, CT



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Ht. 9.5 Dia. 10.0 Cir. 28.0 cm CX

File No. 4385



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Ht. 15.8 Dia. 12.8 Cir. 42.5 cm BW

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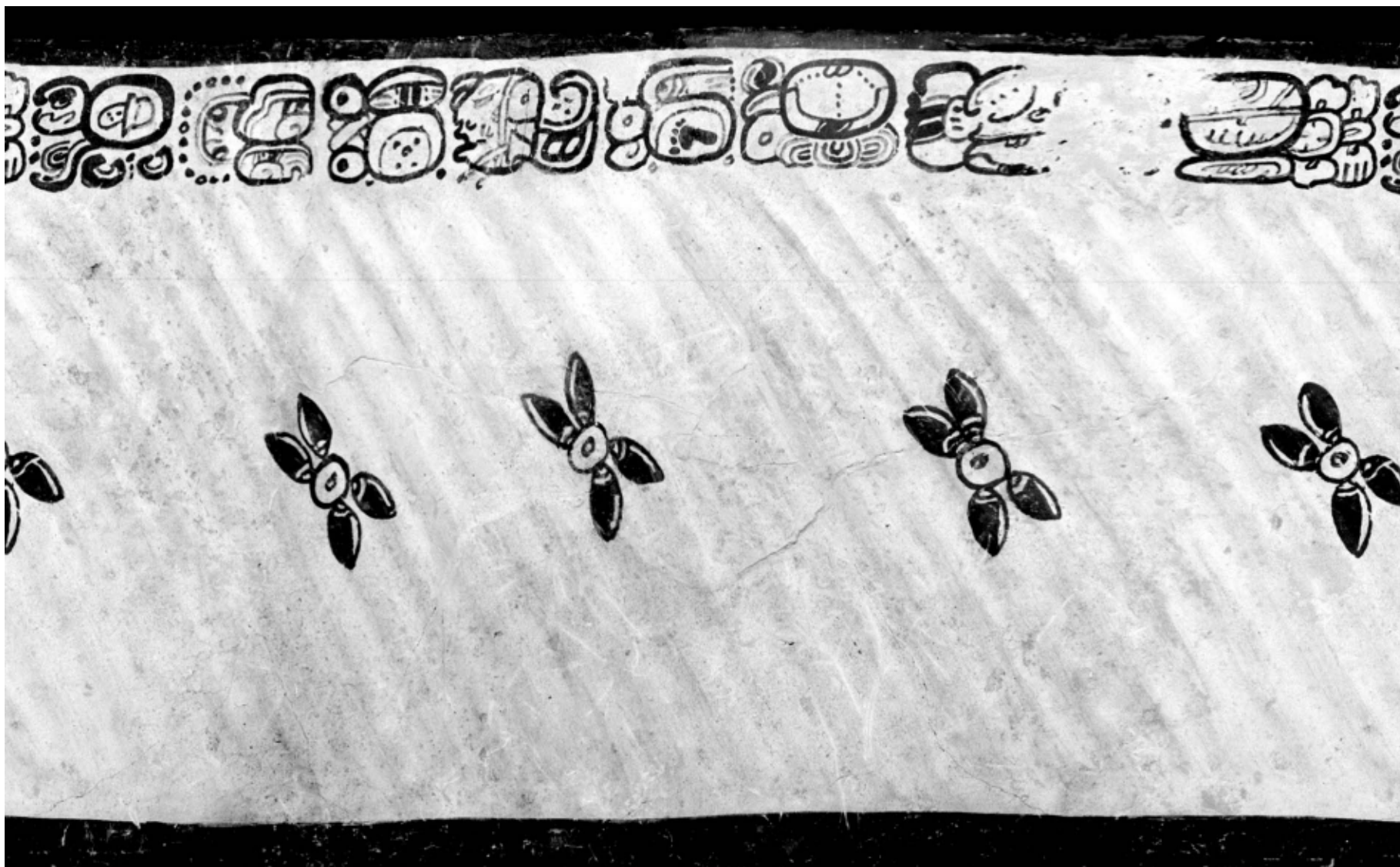
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Ht. 11.3 Dia. 15.2 Cir. 42.0 cm BW

Bowl has false bottom with rattle. Holes are pierced in the form of a quincunx.

Emblem glyph - Ucanal

The text suggests that this is an *atole* bowl for Kan Eb of Ucanal, a *bacob*,



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Ht. 15.2 Dia. 7.3 Cir. 42.0 cm BW

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THE ESSAYS

LORD SMOKE-SQUIRRELS CACAO CUP:
THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT AND SOCIO-HISTORICAL
SIGNIFICANCE OF THE BUENAVISTA “JAUNCY VASE”

JENNIFER T. TASCHEK AND JOSEPH W. BALL

And they have two ways of celebrating these feasts; the first, which is that of the nobles and of their principal people, obliges each... to give another a similar feast. And to each guest they give a roasted fowl, maize cakes, and a drink of cacao in abundance; and at each end of the repast, they... give a manta to each to wear, and a little stand and vessel, as beautiful as possible.
(Tozzer 1941:92)

The elegant ceramic cacao vessel illustrated on this page and page 498, discussed in the accompanying contribution by Houston, Stuart, and Taube (see pp. 498-512) was recovered in 1988 during the course of an intensive archaeological investigation of the main plaza-area of Buenavista del Cayo in central western Belize (Fig. 1).²



1. “Jauncy” was the field-designation assigned to Structure Bv-I based on its size and preeminence among the structures at Buenavista. It in turn, was named for the docile and extraordinarily handsome 65-pound pet ocelot of a close friend. The natural link joining the three was reinforced by the “Jauncy-like” water-lily jaguar (or ocelot ?) seated on the backrack of one of the vessel’s two figures, and from this derives the vase’s name.

Buenavista is a small regional center of the level 8 or 9 category in Norman Hammond’s (1975) 10-level typology of Classic period Lowland Maya centers. At the heart of a territorial realm estimated to have comprised roughly some 180 square kilometers during its Classic period florescence, Buenavista counts among its remains at least thirteen carved and uncarved but painted stelae and altars, two ballcourts, an acropolis-palace, two major plaza groups, and at least ten additional courtyard groups. One of its pyramidal platform-structures stands today still to a height of more than 80 feet. Altogether, the center encompasses approximately twelve hectares of contiguous

2. The archaeological site of Buenavista del Cayo lies on the east bank of the lower Rio Mopan some 13 kilometers above its confluence with the Macal to form the main branch of the Belize River.

monumental architecture spread over roughly eighteen hectares of space.

Excavations carried out at Buenavista between 1984 and 1989 showed it to have been a narrowly focused multifunctional or “urban” center of the “regal-ritual” type (Fox 1977; Taschek and Ball 1987; Ball and Taschek 1989). Our data document its onetime role as a zonal node of public ceremonies, high status residence, high status funerary rites, and high status residence-sited adjudicative administrative activities.

The likely presence of attached specialist artisans and artists is attested to by the discovery of palace-associated workshops engaged in the production of polychrome painted pottery and engraved bone ornaments (Ball

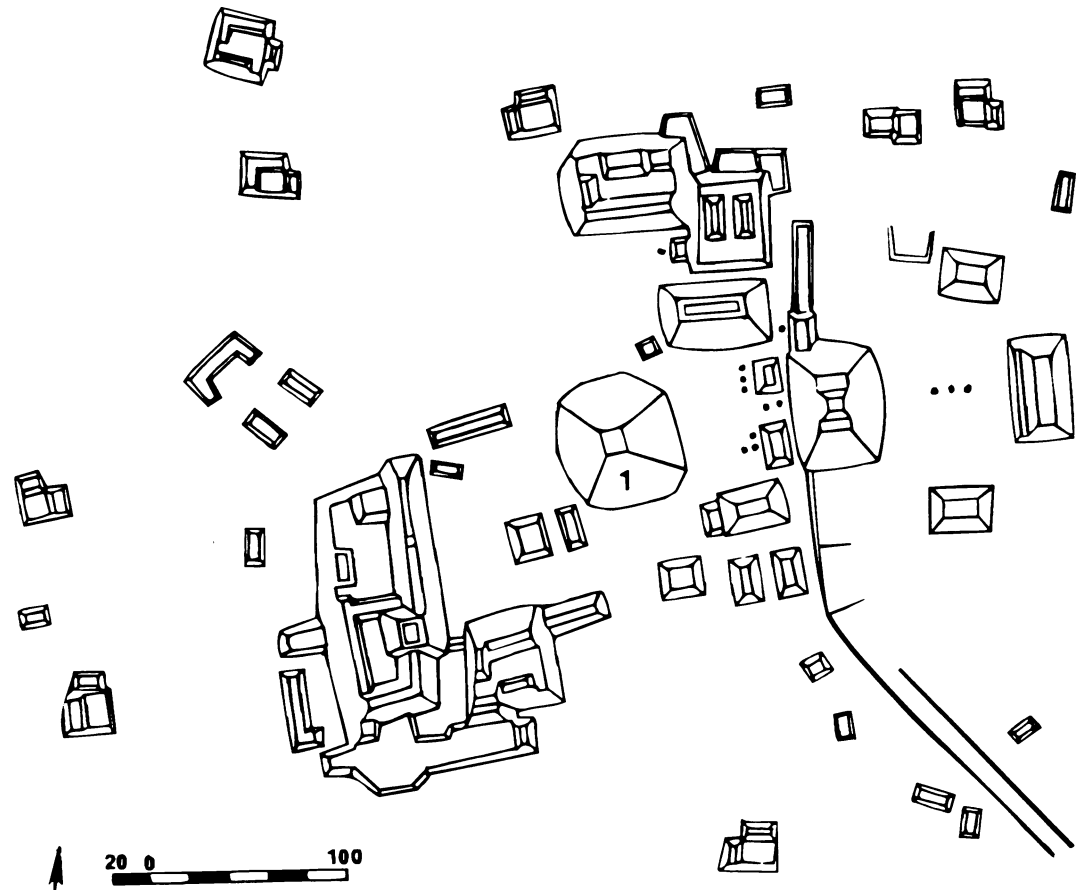


Figure 1. Site plan of Buena Vista del Cayo showing location of Structure Bv-1.

1992). At the same time, beyond the possible siting of periodic festivals and whatever secondary economic activities that might have accompanied these, there is little evidence to support any role as a focus for distributive activities or events any more extensive, intensive, or regular in occurrence than those taking place in surrounding rural settlements.

Our examination of the main plaza group comprised an integral part of our broader overall research goal to archaeologically document the synchronic sociobehavioral structure of a single, representative Late Classic Lowland Maya community in terms of component groups, the activities carried out by these, and the relationships that existed among them. In the case of the Buenavista main plaza, we

hoped to learn something concrete concerning its use as a formally defined public locale incorporating both monumental architecture and structurally delimited open space. Our 1988 investigations sought to accomplish three specific aims: 1) to establish the group's overall construction history and specific sequence of growth patterns; 2) to identify the archaeological correlates of its Classic period utilization and earlier functional history; 3) to recover data illuminating the dedicatory ceremonials and broader regionally-oriented ideological activities associated with the plaza's formal ritual dedication and use. Several quite different and complementary strategies were employed in attempting these goals, one of which involved recovering the series of primary offertory caches asso-

ciated with the final, major Late Classic dedication of the plaza and its structures. Together, these proved to comprise a single interrelated set of offerings resulting from a single complex episode of grand-scale public ritual activity.

Architectural investigations involving the structures on the plaza's north, east, and south sides were successful in this endeavor, as were those focusing on several smaller, secondary platform-units located immediately adjacent to or in front of these. Our final cut into the plaza-side summit of the group's massive west-side platform (Structure Bv- 1) failed to produce the expected result, however, and instead encountered a massive rectangular limestone slab at a depth of roughly 1.4 meters into the structural core.

Weighing more than 800 pounds, this beautifully cut and dressed slab had been laid into a bedding of wet plaster that in turn capped and sealed the open top of a bee-hive shaped, cairned crypt of smaller stone blocks and slabs. Surrounding, covering, enveloping, and even filling this crypt was an enormous deposit of chalcedony, chert, and obsidian flakes, blades, fragments, and reduction debris. Material from this deposit also was strewn somewhat more thinly and unevenly throughout the core-matrix immediately surrounding and overlying the limestone slab capstone. Ultimately, this deposit yielded up over seventeen kilograms of pressure-crafted obsidian artifacts (more than 295,000 individual flakes, blades, cores, fragments, spalls, and slivers), and over 110 kilos of mixed

chert, limestone, and chalcedony soft-hammer percussion products amounting to well over 45,000 individual items. Of the latter, qualitative analyses have indicated that approximately 12.5% of the total by mass and 20% by count represent true chalcedonies; 50.5% by mass and 49% by count can be classified as cherts; and about 37% by mass and 31% by count represent low-grade limestones or cherty limestones. All of these are of local origin, and were available within immediate proximity to the Buenavista center.

Within the crypt lay the poorly preserved remains of a young adult male who had been interred extended prone with his head to the south, a standard local burial pattern from at least Terminal Preclassic times on through the Classic era through-

out the greater Belize Valley zone (cf. Welsh 1988).

After integrating a wide variety of data, we believe it reasonable to identify the young male Interred as Burial 8813-11, as a member of the early eighth century ruling family at Buenavista. In many aspects of its furnishings and associations, the burial conforms exactly to those attributes that Michael Coe (1988) has identified as characterizing royal Classic Maya interments. This extends even to the presence of an apparent symbolic "psychoduct" incorporated into the open-top beehive constructed over the 8813-11 crypt (see Carlson 1988:279-280). Despite these features, we do not believe this individual ever to have been a ruler himself. He was, however, more than likely the son of one, possibly a *batab*,

or local ruler, within the larger realm of the Naranjo regional polity. His interment at the summit of Structure Bv-1, his jaguar-skin raiment, and the abundant finely worked local and exotic indicators of high status and great wealth that accompanied him likely all owed their presence to, and reflect his affiliation with this lineage. In turn, complex depositional configurations and contextual associations strongly suggest some relationship between this family and the late seventh early eighth century establishment or reestablishment of a most likely unequal political relationship between the Buenavista center and its giant neighbor to the west, Naranjo.

Burial 8813- 11 proved to be the latest of three high-status crypt-interments at the top of

Structure Bv- 1. Its two earlier companions date from the early to middle seventh century and were non-intrusive components of Str. Bv- 1-3rd. Burial 881311 had been introduced into this unit by means of a large pit excavated down from its top and a sloping access-trench cut into it from the east side (front) stairway several meters below the platform-crest to facilitate placement of its massive and cumbersome capstone. The slot and pit were resealed by the addition of a new stairway and summit-platform (Str. BV- 1 -2nd), and this in turn was eventually covered over by yet another construction phase sometime well into the eighth century (Str. Bv-1-1st). The structure seems never to have borne a crowning building, but rather to have been surmounted by a small stuccoed masonry

platform-altar. Virtually eradicated by root-action, treefalls, and heavy erosion, traces of the latter and the scattered contents of a likely associated cache of obsidian eccentrics were found strewn about the top and slopes of Bv-1-1st. Also recovered was most of a large, postfired-painted and modeled applied ceramic incense burner depicting the "Jaguar God of the Underworld (Schele and Miller 1986:50)."

The burial-pit for 88B- 11 had been excavated down through several layers of structural core into the yellow-orange clay of Structure Bv-1-5th within which a level surface was prepared to receive the interment. Immediately onto the clay surface was laid down a blanket of more than thirteen hundred complete ob-

sidian pressure-blades arranged in several overlapping and roughly parallel north-south rows. Next, a rectangular crypt-box was constructed directly on top of the obsidian blanket using roughly shaped limestone slabs. An offering of nine light-coloured chert eccentrics and thirteen very dark brownish-black ones then was deposited onto the obsidian blanket. In both internal arrangement and orientation as well as nature and composition, this offering corresponded almost exactly to several other Buenavista caches recovered from public and private elite structural contexts of Middle and Late Classic age (Figure 2).³

Wrapped in a plaster-saturated leather shroud, the body itself was then placed into the crypt.

An assortment of offerings, described below was deposited on and around the body. This included the polychrome Jauncy Vase and a simple blackware bowl placed at the young man's feet. Several thick layers of leather and textile fabrics then were spread out over the crypt and its contents, covering them.

The fabric-covered crypt was sealed with several crosswise capstones and an elongated beehive-form dome was con-

3. The offering was positioned so as to directly underlie the pelvic area of the corpse once this had been placed in the crypt. We believe the individual complete composite sets comprised by such eccentric caches to have had some specific lineage significance or reference. J.E.S. Thompson (1936:318) offered a somewhat similar suggestion many years ago, but there has been to date no systematic effort to explore this possibility.

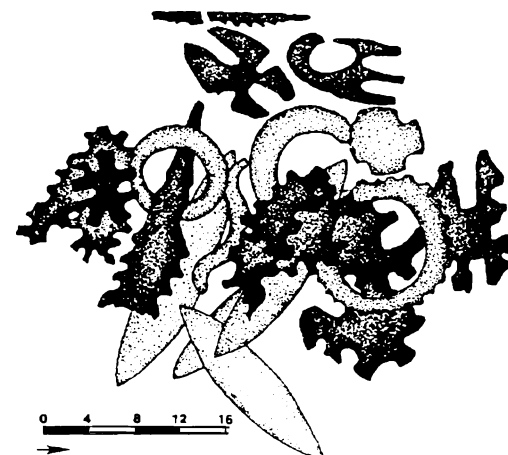


Figure 2. Eccentric offering from obsidian 'floor' of Burial 88B-1 1.

structed above it out of roughly shaped limestone slabs and chunks. Into, over, and around this was poured the massive deposit of chert and obsidian reduction debris described earlier. Included was a chip and spall-covered rolled mat over which the obsidian reduction had probably taken place. Finally, a wet plaster matrix was poured onto the entire mass, and the great limestone slab was eased into place sealing the

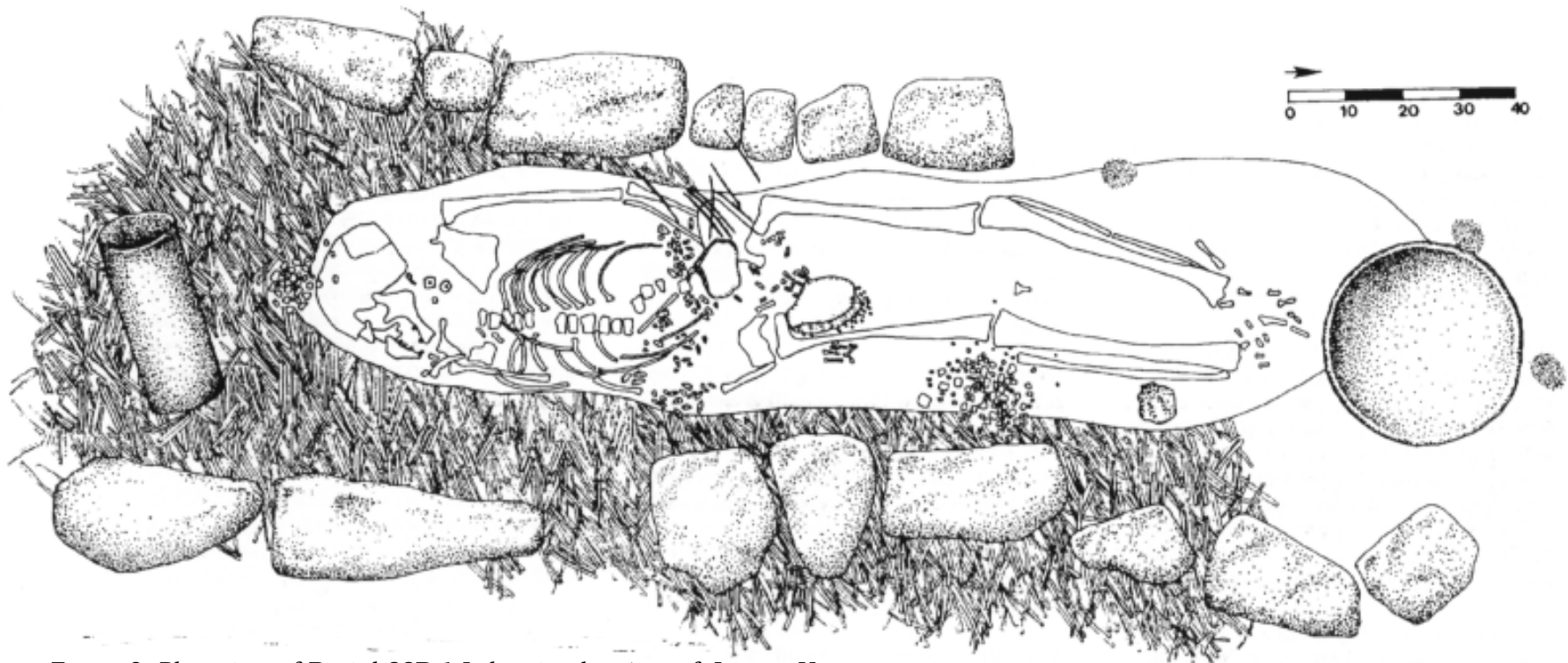


Figure 3. Plan-view of Burial 88B-1 I showing location of Jauncy Vase..

burial. As previously indicated, the burial-pit and access-trench then were covered over by a new stairway addition and summit platform.

Within its shroud, the young man's body was dressed surprisingly simply. (Fig.3) In ad-

dition to jaguar-paw mittens and a jaguar-skin mantle, he wore composite jadeite-and-bone ear assemblages, a belt or girdle of perforated *prunum* and *olivella* shells, and a small assortment of shell and jadeite beads and other decorative elements most likely originally sewn onto some

further article of perishable clothing.

The two earlier interments sharing the upper reaches of Structure Bv- I were quite sumptuously garbed and accoutred by comparison, with one of them, very possibly the previously de-

ceased older brother of the individual in Burial 8813- 11, even accompanied by a jadeite “*ahau* belt” that had been neatly folded and laid at his feet. In the case of Burial 8813- 11, far more interesting and richer were the items deposited as furnishings, gifts, or offerings within the crypt outside the shroud. These included a large mass of stingray spines (positioned in the pelvic area), a mosaic mirror of polished crystalline hematite (placed at the head), another large rectangular mosaic object of jadeite, shell, and polished hematite, several enormous spondylus valves, and a number of other unmodified marine shells, a quantity of badly deteriorated stucco-coated organic objects, very possibly gourds, and a packet of red ocher.

Of ceramic accompaniments, only two vessels were present: the elegant cream-polychrome cacao vase, and a simple hemispherical blackware bowl of local origin, originally intended for everyday dining use. The latter lay at the young man’s feet and possibly had been a personal utensil during his lifetime. It very likely had originally held food of some kind, but if so, no traces or residue of this remained.

As to the Jauncy Vase itself, its presence could well reflect any one among a number of processes ranging from “purchase” or trade-acquisition by its owner to funerary gifting (Adams 1968) or the socio-ceremonial conferring or exchange of gifts by persons of comparable or unequal social or political rank during their lifetimes. In actuality, we

believe the lattermost case to be most strongly supported by the slowly growing body of contextual and epigraphic data pertaining to Late Classic fineware polychrome vases (see Ball 1992),

and we suggest the vessel represented both a prized possession and an important status-symbol very likely acquired at a formal ceremonial affair-of-state not unlike that described by Landa some nine centuries later. In this particular case, we regard it as probable that the vessel had been presented not to the young occupant of the Burial 8813- 11 crypt, but to a royal parent believed interred deep within the massive bulk of Structure Bv-3 across the plaza to the east. Its presence in the crypt thus does actually reflect funerary activi-

ties, but not in the sense proposed by Adams (1968).

Our basis for the preceding reconstruction is sound, but too complex to explore here, and we shall detail it on a future occasion. The point at issue, however, is simply that we believe the vessel arrived at Buenavista as a presentation-gift to a living individual, not as a funerary offering or trade item. Its eventual deposition within Burial 8813- 11 well reflects the often highly particular circumstances at work in the formation of the archaeological record rather than any template-like pattern of “culturally programmed” human behavior.

Taken together, the apparent locational origin, the social circumstances of its “commissioning”, and the functional

intent of the vessel (see essay by Houston, Stuart and Taube) all conform to what would be expected, given the general circumstances of a scenario as described by Landa in the passage that opens this chapter. Whatever the precise historical circumstances of its presentation, however, we suggest the spirit of Landa’s commentary is embodied in this vessel and its depositional context, and that far more important than the specific lines of regional Interaction

that recovery of the Jauncy Vase from a recorded context provides, are its verification of Classic-Postclassic continuities in yet another aspect of elite Lowland Maya culture, and the consequent illumination that it throws on elite status Classic period social interactions.

Typologically, the vessel superficially resembles wares classified as **Cabrito Cream Polychrome** (Smith & Gifford 1966:164; Smith 1955:fig. 2e; 38b38, 40) of the Zacatel ceramic group. In fact, this resemblance is purely superficial and may result either from the vessel’s proper place in another, as yet not formally isolated and defined ceramic group, or from its execution by an artist of such superlative talent that his creations fall outside the parameters of the vast mass of wares upon which analytical typologies are based and which they usually are used to describe. As Richard E.W. Adams (1971:34-35) pointed out some years ago in writing of the Altar Vase, it is not only extremely difficult but in some cases an analytical error to attempt to

force certain extremely fine ceramic pieces into established type-variety pigeonholes. In their excellence of execution, they more often may exceed rather than embody the diagnostic attributes of established “ideal types,” and they warrant recognition within separate and distinct categories, both on their own aesthetic merits and for other far more prosaic analytical reasons. Recent attempts to pigeonhole all known examples of the so-called “Holmul Dancer” painted vase style into the Zacatel group and its constituent types are both inappropriate and erroneous. These vessels may appear very similar in depictive program and execution-style, but they are highly distinct in typological attributes, and would almost unquestionably never have been (or be) lumped together by an

archaeological typologist. We must stress that it is not only inaccurate but highly misleading to lump these vessels and serves only to obscure possible zones of production, lines of interaction, and spheres of exchange. As the junior author of this essay has argued for nearly twenty years, type/group assignments and the intercomparison of Maya ceramics should be based on firsthand, physical examinations of all pertinent materials, not on published illustrations and/or narrative descriptions alone. These latter really are little more than indexes to recovered collections. The result, as we are intending to indicate here can often be obfuscation or even distortion of the cultural historical record and any interpretations or reconstructions inferred on its basis. The Buenavista Jauncy

Vase does, indeed, “resemble” some previously published materials assigned (incorrectly in some cases) to the Zacatel and/or Juleki ceramic groups, but it would be both incorrect and misleading to classify it as such. Not only the fineness of execution in the application of the pictorial program and the hieroglyphic band controvert this, but the character and quality of the even, low-gloss, cream base-slip also makes assignment to the Zacatel group inappropriate. Typologically, the vase represents a type and group not yet adequately described, characterized, defined or named. Referential to its comparative archaeological classification, therefore, we prefer to identify it simply as, **Undesignated Cream-polychrome Special (red and orange red - on - cream)**.⁴

4. Complete typological and technological treatments of the vessel will be presented elsewhere.

Unnecessary as it may seem to do so, we would emphasize that little of the cultural historical information presented above could have been deduced had the vessel not been recorded within its original depositional context. Virtually all of the social and political data, as well as all of the historical information are functions of contextual interpretation and inference, rather than simply readings of the historical and cultural data carried by the vessel's text and design-program. Whether our specific interpretation is entirely correct or not is irrelevant. Conjointly with its context, and only in this way, the vessel does record a specific incident of intercenter interaction and probable linkage, and assists critically in understanding and interpreting the character and rationale of the contemporary

late seventh-early eighth century and subsequent upper Belize Valley material cultural configuration. By itself, had it been looted from the grave of its bygone possessor, the vase still would be an object of great beauty, but it would speak less to us of ancient Maya history or social behavior.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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Among the many project staff members and workmen who participated in, and contributed to the progress of these investigations, we would especially like to acknowledge the efforts of Field Assistants Laura L. Bernd, Ubaldamir Alfaro, Ventura Cocom, Eduardo Chi, and Lab Supervisor JoAnne Gilmer. We thank Professor Lois K. Lippold for her biometric evaluations of the Structure Bv-1 burials.

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THE MAYA VASE BOOK VOL. 3

IMAGE AND TEXT ON THE “JAUNCY VASE”

STEPHEN D. HOUSTON, DAVID STUART, AND KARL TAUBE

During recent excavations at Buenavista del Cayo, Belize, near the modern town of San Ignacio, Cayo District, Drs. Taschek and Ball recovered an extraordinary vessel known as the “Jauncy Vase” named for its findspot, the “Jauncy” mound (a.k.a., Structure Bv-1 see page 491). Here we report on the iconography and epigraphy of the vase, which reveal important information for specialists in Maya art and writing. Elsewhere in this volume, Taschek and Ball present the fuller context of the discovery, including a description of the archaeological context and typological attributes of the vessel (see pp. 490 - 497).

ICONOGRAPHY

The two elaborately dressed figures on the Jauncy Vase represent the Holmul Dancer a

well-known entity of Late Classic Maya iconography (p.498). He typically appears in dancing pose with a complex backrack, usually composed of a seated figure in a niche, a zoomorphic Cauac head, and a serpent skyband, topped by a bird. This richly costumed figure is widely referred to as the Holmul Dancer, due to his appearance on two vessels from this site (see Merwin and Valliant 1932: plates 29a,c, 30a,c). Nonetheless, Vaillant (*ibid.*: 77) noted that a vase representing the same entity had been previously excavated by Gann (1918: Plates 26, 27) at Yalloch, near the sites of Holmul and Naranjo (see also Gordon and Mason 1925-1943: Plate 18). In Maya ceramics, the Holmul Dancer is largely restricted to one striking Late Classic vessel style composed of figures in red out-

line and orange wash over a white background. Aside from specimens from Buenavista, Holmul, and Yalloch, an archaeologically excavated example of the Holmul Dancer is known for Uaxactun upon a fragmentary cylindrical vessel (Smith 1955: fig. 2b).

In an unpublished study, Nicholas Hellmuth 1982 first noted that the Holmul Dancer is but an elaborately costumed form of an important character in Classic Maya vessel scenes. This entity, termed the Principal Young Lord by Hellmuth, is the Classic prototype of the Popol Vuh Hun Hunahpú, the father of the Hero Twins Hunahpú and Xbalanqué (Taube 1985). The figure typically appears with a markedly flattened and elongated cranium with a capping tuft of hair. Frequently another

zone of hair passes across the lower brow, giving the forehead a “double-domed” appearance.

Taube (ibid.) argued that this Classic figure is an aspect of the corn deity, an entity which he termed the Tonsured Maize God. Taube suggested that the elongated head refers to the maize ear topped with its tuft of maize silk. Recent discoveries at Cacaxtla, Tlaxcala, provide striking support for this identification. In a pair of polychrome murals flanking a staircase, there are explicit scenes of the Tonsured Maize God head appearing as cobs on growing maize plants (Fig. 1). The heads are depicted with the lower



Figure 1. *Tonsured Maize god as mature maize cob. Cacaxtla, Mexico (after photograph courtesy of John Carlson*

band of hair as well as the capping tuft. In addition the brow is carefully rendered as grains of yellow maize. Quite probably, the Tonsured Maize God represents fully mature and fertile com. The name glyph of the Tonsured Maize God is composed of a youthful head containing a curling element also found in the T86 *nal* sign (Figs. 2a & b). Frequently, the head is prefixed with the sign



Figure 2. *Portrait glyph probably read nal, detail of text from sarcophagus side, Palenque, Mexico (from Schele, Mathews and Lounsbury 1990: fig.7).*



Figure 2b. *Name glyph of Tonsured Maize god, possibly read hun nal (from K1202).*

for one, or hun. It has recently been suggested that this portrait glyph is to be read *nal*, a term signifying ‘ear of corn’ in a number of Mayan languages (Schele, Mathews, and Lounsbury 1990). Schele, Mathews and Lounsbury (ibid.) noted that among contemporary Chol of Tila, Chiapas, *nal’al* is the term for *el dios de abundancia de plantas y animales* (Aulie and Aulie 1978: 85). This coincides nicely with the colonial Yucatec *Zac Uac Nat* and *Uac Chuaac Nal*, terms which Thompson (1970: 289) considered to be maize god epithets. Further support for the *nal* reading appears on the Tablet of the Temple of the Foliated Cross at Palenque, where Chan Bahlum impersonates the Tonsured Maize God (Taube 1985). He stands upon a zoomorphic Cauac head labeled epigraphically as *wits*

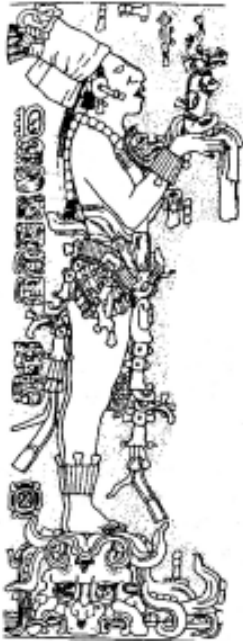


Figure 3. Chan Bahlum dressed as maize god; standing on wits nal mountain, Tablet of the Foliated Cross, Palenque, Mexico (drawing by L. Schele).

nal, or 'maize ear mountain' (fig. 3). Dressed as the Tonsured Maize God, Chan Bahlum stands as the human embodiment of *nal*. It appears that during the Classic period, *nal* or *hun nal* was an important name of the Tonsured Maize God.

Each of the figures upon the

Jauncy Vase appears with a Xoc fish and spondylus belt piece and a beaded skirt, costume elements conventionally appearing with women in Late Classic Maya art (e.g., Naranjo

Stela 24). Nonetheless, the maize god frequently appears with the belt piece and beaded skirt. Both costume elements occur in the aforementioned scene of Chan Bahlum standing upon *wits nal* (Fig. 3). The beaded skirt and belt piece is also found on Copan Stela H, and again the reference to maize is explicit. Thus the ruler wears a headdress containing a central element of sprouting maize, as if he were a personification of corn. In addition, four maize gods appear in the accompanying back assemblage, clearly a version of the Holmul Dancer backrack (Taube 1985: 174).

The female costume elements frequently appearing with the Holmul Dancer and other aspects of the Classic maize god could well derive from the nurturing female-like qualities of

maize. Among the contemporary Mam Maya, maize is referred to as "Our Mother" (Valladares 1957:196). In Classic Maya script, the portrait head of the Tonsured Maize God can provide the phonetic value *na* (see Stuart 1987: 46), a widespread term for 'mother' in Mayan languages. The term *nal* also has strong connotations of female lineage and birth. Thus in Yucatec, *naal* signifies *apellido materno, linaje materno, es lo relayivo a la madre*, whereas *naa'la* is glossed as *matrizar, matemizar, parecerse a su madre* (Barrera Vásquez; 1980: 557). Moreover, the Yucatec phrase *sihnal*, containing the root *sih* for 'birth', signifies *el natural de algún pueblo o provincia o que nació en el* (ibid.: 727). Among both the colonial Pokoman and contemporary Tzotzil Maya new-

borns are ceremonially tied to both maize and their native earth. In this rite, the umbilical cord is cut over a mature ear of corn, the bloodied seeds of which are then planted to become the child's special crop (Thompson 1970: 283). Although this maize ceremony is not known for the contact period or contemporary Yucatec, it is fairly clear that throughout the Maya region, maize is widely identified with female fertility and birth.

In the *Popol Vuh*, Hun Hunahpú appears with a twin, Vucub Hunahpú; however, it is by no means certain that there was a similar pair of Tonsured Maize God twins during the Classic period. Thus although the Holmul Dancer is commonly rendered twice on Late Classic vases, in one instance, he ap-

pears three times on a single vessel (see Coe 1978: Vessel 14). Similarly, a Late Classic vase excavated at Seacal, Guatemala, depicts four distinct Tonsured Maize Gods engaged in dance (see Smith 1952: fig. 25). Quite possibly, the Tonsured Maize God may have had four principal aspects, each oriented to a particular cardinal region.

One of the clearest indicators of the multiple nature of the Tonsured Maize God is the elaborate backrack worn by the Holmul Dancer. Coe (1978: 96) was the first to note that the seated occupant in the backrack niche corresponds to specific emblem glyphs described in the accompanying texts. Thus, Coe (*ibid.*) noted that the main sign of the Tikal emblem glyph occurs with the Water Lily Jaguar, the main sign of Machaquila with the

monkey artisan, and a serpent-headed quadruped with Site Q, quite probably Calakmul. The Jauncy Vase backrack figures closely correspond to the pattern noted by Coe. Thus, the Water Lily Jaguar sits upon a zoomorphic Cauac head containing the T569 main sign of the Tikal emblem glyph. The other seated figure is the serpent-headed quadruped associated with Site Q. However, in this instance, the zoomorphic Cauac head is marked with a moon sign, not the conventional main sign for Site Q. Nonetheless, the seated serpent-headed figure probably refers to Site Q, since a serpent head constitutes the main sign of the Site Q emblem glyph.

In the vessel scene described by Coe (1978: 94-99), each of the three backrack figures is named

epigraphically. In every case, the appellative compound contains a T86 nal superfix (Fig. 2a). Similarly, both of the Jauncy Vase backrack passengers display clear maize attributes. Thus, iconographic forms of the T86 nal sign sprout from the rear of their heads. In addition, both figures hold out severed heads of the maize god (p. 498 and Figs. 4a-b). Long plumes, probably of green quetzal, cascade from the top of each head. These foliated heads are probably more explicit forms of the elements commonly presented by the seated backrack figures; all probably refer to a maize ear, that is, the severed head of the corn god. Although lacking explicit maize foliage, the element also appears as a plumed head on the vase from Yalloch (Fig. 4c). In another vessel scene, the device is a feather-festooned

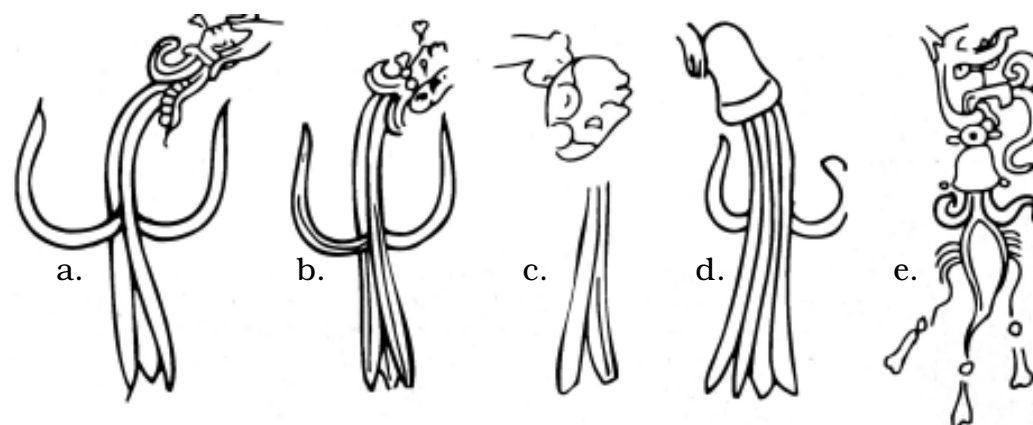


Figure 4. Objects held by occupants in Hohnul Dancer backracks. a & b, Personified maize cobs held by Jauncy Vase figures. c, Head held by figure on Yalloch vessel (after Gordon and Mason 1925-1943: Plate 18). d, Tasseled jade bead (after Coe 1978: 103). e, Jade bead and maize cob with head of God K (after Coe 1978: 98).

jade bead (Fig. 4d). Among the ancient Maya, jade was frequently compared to the verdant, vital qualities of maize. Thus the head of the maize god is frequently represented in Classic Maya jades (e.g., Proskouriakoff 1974: Plate 53b).

An especially complex object appears in the vessel scene representing three backrack figures. In this case, the element is the head of God K with a jade bead sprouting a maize cob (Fig. 4e). Among the ancient Maya, God K was closely identified

with maize. Thus, along with being filled with allusions to maize, the Tablet of the Temple Foliated Cross refers to the birth of GII of the Palenque Triad, in other words, God K. Moreover, Stuart (1987: 15-16) has recently demonstrated that God K was referred to epigraphically as *k'awil*. According to Thompson (1970: 289), this term could be glossed as 'abundance of our sustenance.'

Both of the Jauncy Vase backracks are surmounted by birds. Although birds usually appear

atop the Holmul Dancer backrack, they do not correspond consistently with the seated niche figure. Thus, in the two Holmul Dancer vessel scenes published by Coe (1978: 94-104), the birds display the head of God K, in one instance complete with the smoking cranial torch (*ibid.*: 103). However, in the case of the Jauncy Vase, the bird accompanying the Site Q quadruped is clearly a vulture. Because of its long beak and upwardly sweeping poll, the bird accompanying the Tikal Jaguar can be identified as a woodpecker.

Reents-Budet (1991: 218) has noted that the Holmul Dancer backrack has cosmological significance, with the Cauac zoomorph referring to the earth, and the bird and skyband, the zenith and heavens. According

to Reents-Budet, the creatures inhabiting the central niche refer to the surface of the earth. Although the interpretation by Reents-Budet seems to be largely correct, the Cauac zoomorph probably refers more specifically to a mountain, or wits, rather than the earth (see Stuart 1987). Moreover, the creatures seated upon the mountain sign may serve to specify particular mountains. Recent epigraphic work by Stuart and Houston (1991) reveals that Classic Maya toponyms frequently refer to specific mountains. The presence of emblem glyph main signs in association with the backrack figures points directly to place name references. Quite possibly, the backrack figures refer to important hills or pyramids, their architectural corollaries, at particular Classic sites.

It has been noted that the jaguar burden is consistently identified with the T569 main sign of the Tikal emblem glyph. It is thus noteworthy that a version of the Holmul Dancer backrack occurs at Tikal. Lintel 2 of Temple IV depicts Ruler B wearing a form of the Holmul Dancer backrack, in this case a wits zoomorph topped by an arching serpent probably denoting the heavens ([Fig. 5b](#)). A virtually identical backrack is worn by the Holmul Dancer on an unprovenanced vessel ([Fig. 5a](#)). Although the jaguar burden does not appear on the Tikal backrack, a great jaguar figure looms behind the seated lord. A similar albeit more fragmentary scene occurs on Lintel 3 of Temple 1. Here Ruler A appears to be wearing the backrack, although only a portion of the overarching serpent is pre-



Figure 5a. Detail of Late Classic Vessel (after K703).

served. As in the Temple IV scene, the ruler is backed by a great jaguar.

Although denoting a distinct polity, the emblem glyph of Dos Pilas employs the same T569 main sign occurring at Tikal. Schele and Miller (1986: 77) note that the ruler on Dos Pilas Stela 17, wears the Holmul Dancer backrack (Figure 6a). The device is composed of a



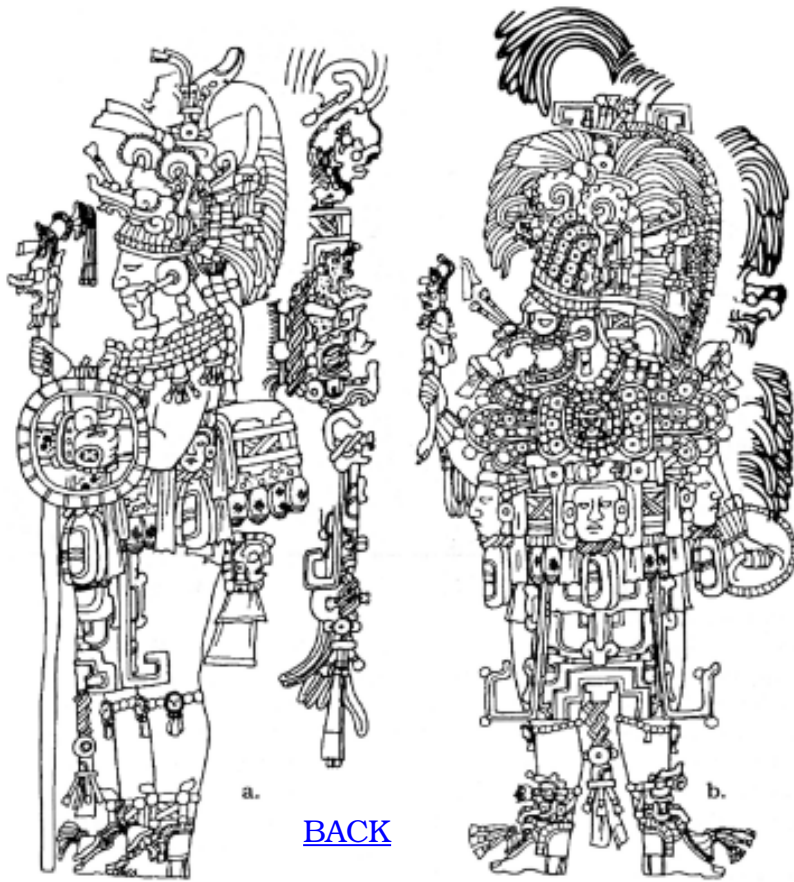
Figure 5b. Detail of Lintel 2 of Temple IV, Tikal, Guatemala (after Jones and Satterthwaite 1982:fig.73).

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zoomorph pedestal, a quadruped burden, and an upper skyband topped by a Moan bird. In accord with the consistent identification with the T569 sign, the figure is the Water Lily Jaguar. The Holmul Dancer backrack probably also appears on Dos Pilas Stela 1 (Figure 6b). Although the ruler is presented enface, the backrack feathers and the Moan bird can be discerned. It would thus appear

that the Dos Pilas polity not only shared the same emblem glyph with Tikal, but also some of the secondary meanings associated with the T569 main sign.

The identification of the Holmul Dancer with mountains and the main signs of emblem glyphs may be a reflection of Classic Maya conceptions of place. In Classic Maya inscriptions, the T86 nal sign appears a frequent superfix of toponyms, here read after the place name (Stuart and Houston 1991). It is possible that in this context, the T86 sign is more than a phonetic device and serves as a specific reference to maize. The reason for such an association of maize with specific places is unclear, although it may qualify a locality as a place of abundance or perhaps it may allude to the earth or territory from which



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Figure 6a. Dos Pilas, Stela 17 (drawing by Linda Schele, from *le and Miller 1986: Plate 2d*), backrack (drawing by Thube after *le and Miller 1986: Plate 2d*).

Figure 6b. Dos Pilas, Stela I (drawing by Linda Schele, from *Schele and Miller 1986: Plate 2e*), backrack (drawing by Taube, after *Schele and Miller 1986: Plate 2e*).

maize grows. Quite possibly, as the personification of maize, the Holmul Dancer is an anthropomorphized expression of the T86 toponymic superfix.

THE TEXT

The text on the Jauncy Vase consists of eleven glyph blocks disposed horizontally below the rim of the vessel ([Fig. 7](#)). Two sets of lines guided the artist: a horizontal line to ensure that the top of the glyphs did not intrude into the red band around the rim; and vertical lines to maintain spacing between glyphs. A faint line may exist below the signs, but as with other vessels produced in the area of Naranjo, Guatemala, the line above the glyphs was more closely followed by the artist (see Kerr No. 681, Kerr 1989:35, and Kerr No. 1398, Kerr 1989:81).

The sequence of painting is fairly clear. First came the heavy red outlines of the glyphs, then the finer details and orange wash that fill the glyph blocks.

(Editor's Note: This is not the case with most Maya vessels. Generally, the wash of internal glyph color is applied first and the outline in the darker color is then painted over the lighter color. In most cases the scribe/artist knew exactly where the underneath color was to go, as there is very few examples of where the color leaks outside the outline. Except for the top and bottom lines there are almost no examples of a scribe/artist using a cartoon or underpainting before writing the text or painting the figures.) A distinctive characteristic of the Jauncy artist is a preference for calligraphic flourishes at the front and bottom of the hieroglyphs-, note especially the s-shaped scrolls, dotted "pedestals," and "beards," which add little or nothing to the reading of the text. These features are identical to those on at least

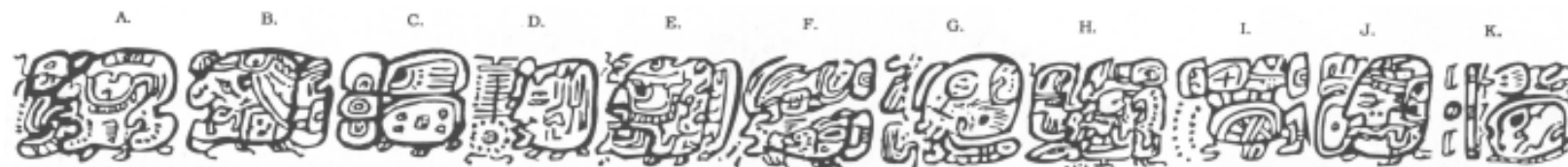


Figure 7. Text of the “jauncy” Vase (drawing by Jennifer Taschek).

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one other vessel (Fig. 8) and closely similar to glyphs on three others (e.g., Kerr Nos. 1398, 2085), suggesting that all were made by same artist, or by scribes employing the same style (see Kerr and Kerr 1988:236, 238, for methods of establishing scribal “signatures” from artistic details). Regrettably, the Jauncy Vase is the only one of the set with archaeological provenance; the others vessels were removed from Guatemala or Belize sometime during the last twenty years. We shall say more about these ceramics below.

The text of the Jauncy Vase conforms to the so-called Primary Standard Sequence (Coe 1973), which has been shown to function as a “name-tag,” a text that describes an object and denotes the owner or maker (Houston



Figure 8. Vase by the “Jauncy” artist (K1698)



Figure 9. a. Stela 32, Naranjo (from Graham 1978:86).
 b. Altar 1, Naranjo (ibid:103).
 c. Stela 19, Naranjo (from Gordon and Von Euw 1975:49).
 d. Stela 30, Naranjo (from Graham 1978:79).

and Taube 1987; Houston, Stuart, and Taube 1989; Stuart 1986, 1989; see also Grube 1991 and MacLeod 1990). When found on ceramics, the Primary Standard Sequence refers to the kind of vessel, the liquid it once contained, and the making or dedication of the ceramic or the designs on its surface.

The first two glyphs (Figs. 7 A and B) on the Jauncy Vase are the Initial Sign and God N, both of unknown reading (but see MacLeod 1990). The following glyphs, C through F, can be transliterated as **yu-ch'V-bi/ta-its-te-le/*ka-ka-wa**, and deciphered as "his drinking vessel for the 'seasoned' cacao." A familiar name follows, in glyphs G through K; this belongs to

"Smoking Squirrel," a well-known ruler of Naranjo, Guatemala (Closs 1985). Parallel sets of titles from Naranjo, (Fig. 9) show that the text on the Jauncy vase is consistent with such patterns. Of particular interest are the **KAAN-(na)-CHAK** compound, apparently a family title, the Naranjo Emblem glyph, **SAK-CHUEN** (?), and **6-KAB-NAL**.¹ All are attested at Naranjo, often in precisely the same order as on the vase from Buenavista del Cayo.

What, then, can be said about the text on the Jauncy Vase? First, it refers to a vessel intended to hold a cacao drink. Second, its owner or maker was apparently a well-known ruler of a site 13.5 km from Buenavista del Cayo. Closs (1985:Table 1) and others (e.g., Graham 1978:111; Gaida

I These titles are still not well understood. Kan-Chak contrasts with Kan Kawil, a title used by lords at other Maya sites. 77tat the glyphs vary from site to site and family to family is clear what we do not understand is the significance of this pattern. Is the title simply a family name? As for the Zak Chuen, the head of the monkey is the same as that of the monkey 'patron' of scribes (Coe 1977); evidently, its allograph is a chuen sign within a glyphic elbow. (Different analyses mark the 'chuen elbow' when it appears before the Emblem glyph.) In passing, we should also note that Nikolai Grube and Werner Nahm have proposed *sa* as the reading of the main sign in the Naranjo Emblem glyph (personal communication, 1991). We do not at present accept the reading, which is suggestive but unproved.

1983) have compiled the dates of this ruler, who spans a period from 9.12.15.13.7 (date of birth) to 9.14.7.13.6 (last known date, Closs 1985:7 1); slightly later dates remain a real possibility (*pace* Closs). The presence of Smoking Squirrel's name probably dates the Jauncy Vase to a forty year period in the middle of the Late Classic. Nonetheless, we cannot discount the chance that the reference is posthumous.

Little of this information is surprising or novel. What is more interesting is how the vessel came to Buenavista del Cayo. Taschek and Ball discuss one explanation (see pp. 490-497 Ball n.d.), and we are in essential agreement with their conclusion: that the vase was a gift to the ruling family at Buenavista from a dynasty centered at Naranjo, Guatemala.

BUENAVISTA AND NARANJO

The relationship between Buenavista del Cayo and Naranjo is fascinating, if somewhat difficult to specify. We suspect that Buenavista was the lesser and politically subordinate of the two, if only to judge from the relative proximity and size of the sites (Naranjo is by far the larger center, Graham and von Euw 1975:6-7). As for the event that brought the Jauncy Vase to Buenavista, we agree with Taschek and Ball that "trade," in the sense of commercial exchange, is unlikely to have been responsible. Rather, the Classic Maya may have moved prestige goods more for political than economic ends (see Houston 1987:342, 1991:225; Stuart 1989b). As gifts, vessels, and other items helped confirm alliances, affirm agreements,

and bind the centers and peripheries of Classic polities; members of the elite might have imbibed drinks from the vessels to seal bargains or to celebrate important meetings, as was the case during the Late Postclassic period (Tozzer 1941:92). In fact, all formal communications between major centers, whether allies or belligerents, might have involved the transmission of precious goods. Similar patterns have been documented among the Etruscans and early Romans, who used gifts, or "primitive valuables" as Dalton (1977) termed them, to consolidate social and political bonds, often going so far as to inscribe objects with the names of owners or recipients (Cristofani 1975-; Wallace 1989:123, 134). Evidently, Naranjo was energetic in distributing prestige items with dynastic texts. Ves-

sels referring to the rulers of Naranjo occur at the sites of Tikal, Holmul, and Rio Azul (Reents n.d.; Houston 1987:342).² The one vessel that is almost certainly by the artist of the Jauncy Vase (see above) refers, not to Smoking Squirrel, but to a “Shield Jaguar” of Ucanal (Houston 1983:fig. 8). There are two implications of this: that the Ucanal vessel was commissioned by Naranjo as a gift for a foreign lord; and that the names are not those of the makers, but the owners of the vessels. A curious fact is that Naranjo was not always on the best of terms with Ucanal; several texts indicate that the dynasties were mutually hostile (Houston 1983).

2. *The shard from Rio Azul is in the distinctive red-and-orange-and-cream that characterizes the Naranjo “Palace School” of ceramic painting (ball n.d.)*

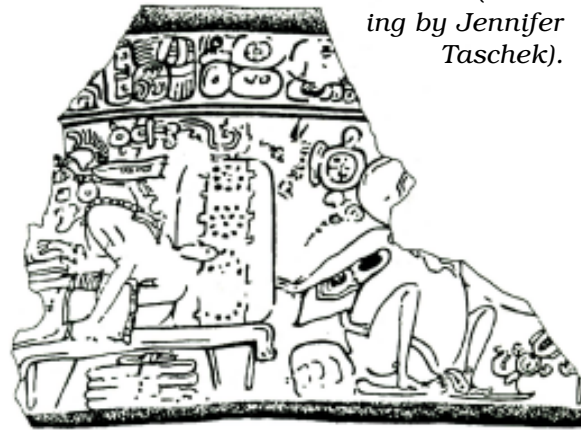


Figure 10. *Shard 2. Buenavista (drawing by Jennifer Taschek).*

Two other pieces of evidence demonstrate the extent of Naranjo's influence over the area of Buenavista. One is the presence of a name (*k'aba*) on Shard 2, from Buenavista Special Deposit 2, an extraordinary “dump” of elite ceramics excavated by Ball and Taschek (Fig. 10; Ball n.d.). The same name occurs on a vessel referring to figures at the Naranjo court (Fig. 11), (Coe 1973:103; Stuart 1987; Reents and Bishop 1987:785). The other evidence comes from Xunantunich, a ma-

jor site within five km of Buenavista and 12.5 km of Naranjo (Graham 1978:117).

Xunantunich Stela 8:C2 shows what may be the Naranjo Emblem glyph, although, as with all inscriptions at Xunantunich, the text is highly eroded. Conceivably, both Buenavista and Xunantunich lay within, or perhaps on the margins of the

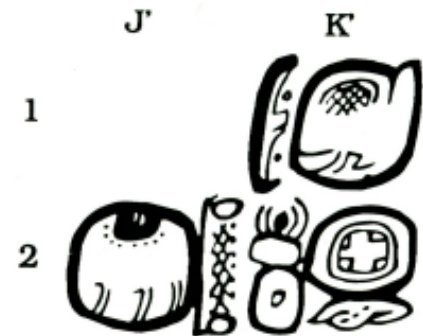


Figure 11. *Section of text on vase from the Naranjo area (Coe 1973:103).*



Figure 12. *Shard from special deposit 2, Buenavista (drawing by Karl Taube)*

Naranjo polity. Further excavations at Xunantunich (MacKie 1985) are needed to recover additional glyphic material.

BUENAVISTA AND OTHER DYNASTIC CENTERS

Shard 2 shows that the Jauncy Vase is not the only example at Buenavista. of pottery with references to foreign dynasties. We know of at least two other pieces in addition to these. Both come from the Special Deposit 2, the so-called "Palace Dump (Ball n.d.). The first example is illus-

trated in Figure 12. It shows a shard with a portion of the Primary Standard Sequence and an enigmatic scene of God D addressing an enthroned bowl containing a tree. What interests us here is the historical name following the Primary Standard Sequence: it is identical to part of a name on a unprovenanced cornice or stairway block (Fig. 13). Is the block also from Buenavista? Or does the text on the shard refer to a foreigner?

The second ceramic is important because it contains an unusually full set of titles: ... **KAN-K'AWIL-(il)/sa-ku-WINIK-(ki)/ch'o-ko/?/**



Figure 13. *Unprovenanced sculpture (drawing by David Stuart, after Berjonneau and Sonnery)*



Figure 14. *Shard 1a / 1b (drawing by Jennifer Tashchek).*

ARAW-(wa)... (Fig. 14). From this we know that the person was a "young lord" (ch'ok ahaw) of an unspecified location (the question mark in the transliteration). He also used a family title ("sky-God IC) employed at many other sites, including Mal and Dos Pilas.³

The *sakun winik* expression is one of the more intriguing parts of the text. A variant form is documented in the Palace Tablet at Palenque: **su-ku-(*nV)-WINIK-ki**, a ref-



Figure 15. Glyphs for “older” and “younger” brother

- a. Palenque Palace tablet:L7 (drawing by L. Schele)
- b. Palenque Palace tablet:L14 (drawing by L. Schele)
- c. Passage from Naj Tunich, Group Ib (after photo from National Geographic Society).
- d. Unprovenanced mirror back C1-D1 (after Berjonneau and Sonnery 1985:Plate 367).

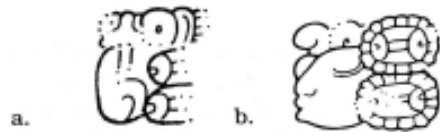


Figure 16. A place name at Naranjo.

- a. Naranjo stela 18:H9 (after Graham and Von Euw 1975:47).
- b. Naranjo Stela 22:G7 ((after Graham and Von Euw 1975:56).

erence to the ruler “Chan Bahlurn” (Fig. 15a). The **WINIK** (with **ki** complement) means “man” in this instance. Elsewhere in the text, **WINIK** appears in a glyphic compound, **i-ts’i-(*nV)-WIN1K** that refers to “Kan Xul,” the younger brother of Chan Bahlum (Fig. 15b). Most likely, *sukun winik* signifies “elder brother” and *its’in winik* records “younger brother.”

These are not the only such spellings (Fig. 15c). In the painted texts of Naj Tunich, one passage names an individual, probably a ruler as indicated by the Emblem glyph, and three of his relatives. Each of the three related names follows **yi-ta-hi(?)**, a common grouping of signs that recalls the possessed form of *ih-ta?n* a Chorti term meaning “sibling” or

“sibling’s spouse” (Wisdom 1950:476). The last of the names ends with *its’in winik*, now with a *wi* complement, shown here as a suffixed element (this unusual arrangement is known in other spellings of *winik*). Interestingly, the first sibling was termed the **sa-ku-(?wi)-WINIK-(ki)**. This expression is documented in at least one other grouping, from an unprovenanced mirror back (Fig. 15d). We believe this to be a variant of the Yucatec term *suku’n* (Barrera Vásquez 1980:742). However, here the glyphs spell an expression closely related to Cholti *zacun* and Chorti *sak’un*, “Older brother” or “cousin” (Wisdom 1940:259). This is precisely the term attested on the shard from Buenavista del Cayo. Here as elsewhere, the reference to “sibling” accompanies *ch’ok*, “youth.”

The location mentioned on the shard is also of great interest, for it appears on a unprovenanced vessel (Kerr No.2730) and in two texts from the site of Naranjo (Fig. 16). Both inscriptions from Naranjo are martial in character. One refers to a "Smoking Head" event against this place (Schele 1982: 103-104). The event took place under the auspices of Smoking Squirrel; the other event, on Stela 18:H9, also involved Smoking Squirrel, who waged a "Shell Star" war against the site. It is tempting to identify this place as Buenavista or its environs, although it could also be a site in Guatemala. Present evidence is insufficient to prove either hypothesis.

CONCLUSION

The Jauncy vase reveals a great

deal about relations between Buenavista and its neighbors. The dynasty of Naranjo was clearly a major force not only at Buenavista, but at other centers in the region. With its clear associations with specific sites, the Holmul Dancer, or more correctly, the Naranjo Dancer, seems to have represented a ceremonial link between Naranjo and other polities. However, although religious ideology surely sanctified ties between sites, we have tried to explain the distribution of the vase and other finds primarily in political terms, suggesting that commerce did not prompt the exchange of many elite items, which were more likely to be royal gifts. Nonetheless, future work will have to explore and refute other explanations for the occurrence of this pottery at Buenavista, including the

possibility of war booty. Rigorous testing of alternative ideas will strengthen the more probable interpretation outlined here and in Taschek and Ball's paper.

In archaeological terms, the Buenavista finds underline the futility of reconstructing provenance from textual information; glyphs alone would point to a Naranjo attribution, an assumption vitiated by Ball and Taschek's excavations (see Stuart 1989a). Finally, the discovery of dynastic texts at Buenavista signals the important role that similar excavations will play in future epigraphic research. Not all dynastic history will depend on work in major centers, which, as Buenavista shows, tell only one side of the story.

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PAINTED LADIES: COSTUMES FOR WOMEN ON TEPEU CERAMICS

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The decision to limit this discussion of costume to feminine dress stems from a much longer paper, still in progress, on women portrayed in the monumental sequence of the Classic Period (A.D. 250-900). Classic Maya sculptures characteristically depict women in skirts and shoulderpieces with superimposed layers of beadwork (Fig. 5), and woven huipils with glyphic motifs executed in brocade and embroidery (Schele and Miller 1986: Pl. 1). These costumes are rarely shown on Tepeu ceramics of the Late Classic.¹ White weaves, fabrics dyed in solid colors, and resist designs are more typical of the clothing shown on vases; and women are shown in a greater variety of garments than on monuments.

1. Most of the vases discussed in this article belong to the Tepeu 2 sequence from approximately AD 700-800.

Most important, while the monuments commemorate historical females, the number of goddesses shown in the ceramic sequence exceeds portraits of queens and other women. Many gods have been successfully identified on vases through the recognition of their facial attributes, hairstyles and dress motifs (Coe 1973, 1978, 1982; Robiscek and Hales 1981; Taube 1985; Schele and Miller 1986). Such consistency does not seem to apply to most goddesses. After a review of the garment types for women on vases and the techniques of their production, this article will focus on the moon goddess, a female deity known from the Postclassic, but one whose identification in Classic art has been scarcely examined.

DECORATIVE TECHNIQUES

An initial caution needs to be mentioned here before discussing Classic Maya textiles and their decorative techniques. Unlike South America, where ancient garments have been preserved in dry tombs, few fabrics have survived the tropical climate of the Maya area. Fragments and cloth impressions are known from Early Classic tombs, and pieces of woven gauze, dyed blue, of Late Classic date have recently been excavated at Copan (King 1979; Agurcia Fasquelle and Fash 1991). Thus, the analysis of Classic Maya dress must be based primarily upon what can be perceived in the art.

There are, however, good reasons to believe that the manufacture of textiles and the tech-

niques of their decoration have remained essentially unchanged in the Maya area from early to modern times (O'Neale 1945: 1). Women still weave on the same back strap loom, known from Classic figurines, and foundation weaves used by contemporary weavers are represented on Classic fragments. Today, and even more so in the past, garments are made of strips of woven cloth, sewn together, and draped around the body or pulled over the head. Almost all of the designs on modern fabrics are woven in brocade, which produces angular bold designs over the ground weave. Curvilinear elements are embroidered. These two techniques appear to be well represented on Classic monuments.

The simplest fabrics on Tepeu ceramics, for both sexes, are

white weaves which represent plain cotton.² Many garments on codex vessels perforce fall into this group. White weaves also appear on the murals of Bonampak (Miller 1986a: 65). In terms of simple-to-complex decoration, the next category of fabrics includes cotton garments dyed in solid colors such as red, purple, and black.³ They are not as common as white weaves.

Even on these simple garments of white and dyed weaves, vertical seams and hemlines are often distinguished from the field

2. Robiscek and Hales 1982: Nos. 10, 11. Coe 1973: No. 14; 1978: No. 7; 1982: No. 1. Clancy et. al. 1985: Nos. 79, 80, 125. Kerr 1989: 34, 44, 57, 67, 86, 99, 100, 117; 1990: 125, 216, 296. Schele and Miller 1986: Pl. 48.

3. Coe 1973: Nos. 28, 31, 40 and 41; 1982: No. 4. Kerr 1989: 27 and 41; 1990: 255, 257 and 267.

if the garment, through the use of a beaded fringe and strips of separate cloth dyed in a different color or decorated with repeated Motifs.⁴ In the monumental sequence, where details are more precise, garments were similarly finished with a beaded fringe or a separate piece of woven cloth with embroidered designs. Finished borders are also apparent in the murals of Bonampak (Miller 1986a: 154-156).

Contemporary Maya weavers cut textiles directly off the loom, leaving a fringe of loose strings from the warp, which are tied in decorative knots to prevent the cloth from unraveling (O'Neale 1945: 149). Alternatively, garment edges are finished by sew-

4. Kerr 1989: 27, 44, 58, 67, 86, 101; 1990: 216, 267-277, 279, 296-298. Coe 1973: No. 31.

ing on a strip of cloth with embroidered or brocaded designs. The beaded fringes and decorated borders of Classic garments doubtless stemmed from the same need to tie off loose strings.

Resist designs are also shown on vases. Dyed fabrics have resist patterns of squares, circles and other motifs that preserve the white background of the cotton weave. Circles are the most characteristic design.⁵ A figurine from the Peten depicts the same kind of circular resist pattern on a female sarong (Beillonnet et al. 1985:No. 405). The substance used for

5. Kerr 1989: 20, 40, 45, 52,100,102,119,122; 1990:202,239; 1991:PhotoNo.4030. Clancy et al. 1985: Nos. 70, 13 1. Coe 1973: No. 32; 1978: No.19. Clarkson 1979: Figs. 5,16. Robiscek and Hales 1982: Nos. 5, 15. Schele and Miller 1986: A 48.

the resist process is not known, but beeswax would have been a possible choice. Modern Maya weavers continue to use resist designs.

Most garments shown on Tepeu ceramics have cursive elements, in a variety of colors, on white weaves.⁶ They seem to represent hand-painted motifs, but are probably woven and embroidered designs. In other words, they only appear to represent painted textiles because the calligraphic style of most vase painters rendered motifs in a fluid abbreviated fashion. The precision of woven and embroidered motifs is better observed on carved monu-

6. Coe 1973: Nos. 27, 29, 42; 1982: No. 49. Schele and Miller 1986: It 48. Kerr 1989:87,90, 105,109,119; 1990:193,202,229,237,252,259, 268,270,288,291,297.

ments, and incised products from the minor arts.

In the murals of Bonampak, where greater attention was paid to details, most fabrics seem to have woven designs and resist patterns with embroidered borders (Miller 1986a: 159). Only deer skins have painted motifs. Classic figurines and other incised small objects also depict woven garments with embroidered borders, along with jaguar and deer skins, and fabrics of solid colors.⁷ It is, thus, reasonable to assume that Classic vases reflect the same mixture of woven, embroidered, and resist-dyed garments, with painted motifs reserved for animal skins. However, some fab-

7. Schele and Miller 1986: Pls. 49, 50, 59, 81. Clancy et al. 1985: Nos. 100, 102, 104, 137. Berjonnet et al 1985: Nos. 366- 367, 395.

rics may have been painted with brushes or sponges.⁸

The best examples of woven garments in the ceramic sequence are rhomboid weaves similar to those shown on monuments from Yaxchilán. Rhomboid weaves at Yaxchilán were probably woven in brocade, and usually have interior motifs (Morris 1985). Several monuments depict a four dot rhomboid pattern (Stela 35; Lintels 41 and 43). Dotted rhomboid weaves appear on the Initial Series Vase from Uaxactun and other ceramics, as well as figurines.⁹ The vases and figurines have only

8. *Postclassic fragments from the Cenote of Chichen Itza and Chiptic Cave in Chiapas preserve resist and hand-painted motifs, as well as designs woven in brocade and tapestry, and embroidery* (King 1979; Johnson 1954; Coggins et. al. 1984).

one, two, or three dots per rhomboid, but the same pattern is suggested.

There are, in addition, garments on vases that represent combinations of decorative techniques: a hipcloth assembled in four sections using a white fabric with embroidered designs, and two dyed fabrics separated by a white weave (Kerr 1990: 259); and a hipcloth with resist dyed circles and a woven border (Kerr 1989:54). Other hipcloths were assembled from strips of

9. *Smith 1932:Fig. 9. Coe 1982: Nos.2,4. Kerr 1989: 39, 49, 55, 61, 82, 105, 122; 1990: 193, 239, 245, 255, 285. Coe 1973: No. 29; 1978: Nos. 9,11, 19. Clancy et. al. 1985: Nos. 100, 102. These examples include open rhomboid weaves, as well as rhomboids with interior dots.*

10. *Kerr 1989:18, 42, 44, 58; 1990: 250. Coe 1973: No. 13.*

woven cloth joined together with embroidered bands.¹⁰ Such combinations of weaves and decorative techniques are rarely visible in the monumental sequence, but it must be remembered that sculptures were painted with details that have disappeared through erosion.

Woven garments on monuments are coded with glyphs which, if they can be deciphered, reveal information about the figure or the event depicted. Vases also include garments with glyphic signs, but there are fewer of them. The four-dot rhomboid is one such motif. The aged aspect of the moon goddess wears a pattern of resist circles and bones, a garment design also worn by male deities, as well as by the Tikal ruler of Stela 16.¹¹ A vase from the Grolier exhibit depicts a seated lord whose

turban is embroidered with the completion-mat design that occurs on monuments at Piedras Negras and other centers in the Usumacinta (Coe 1973: No. 29).¹²

The analysis of glyphic dress motifs is a topic that deserves further study. I have mentioned a few such designs because they suggest that some garments on vases are more closely related than they seem, in their execution and use of motifs, to textiles in the monumental sequence. The modern Maya similarly include designs which have

11. Clarkson 1979: Fig. 5. Kerr 1989:8 3. Jones and Satterthwaite 1982: Fig. 22.

12. The turban design of the Grolier lord specifically recalls the turbans worn by the small figure on the Temple of the Foliated Cross at Palenque, and by a Yaxchilán sahal on La Pasadita, Untel3.

iconographic significance. Female garments, for example, have Christian emblems, and motifs which symbolize the fertility of the female sex and the cosmos (Morris 1985).

It is, nonetheless, my impression that most garments on vases represent white and dyed weaves with little or no decoration, resist patterns, and animal skins. There are examples of brocade and embroidery, but they are less common, and often appear combined in a single garment with resist designs and plain weaves. In general, the costumes shown on vases lack the wealth of detail and emphasis upon graphic signs characteristic of garments in the monumental sequence. Monumental costumes represent commemorative portraits and dress for public ceremonies.

Classic vases reflect the mythology and daily court life of the upper class.

GARMENTS

Women, in both the monumental and the ceramic sequences, do not wear animal skins. The female sex is consistently associated with woven cloth. Most females on vases, regardless of whether they represent historical females or goddesses, wear the sarong and the huipil discussed below. The chest sash, worn with a skirt, is a rare form of dress on both monuments and ceramics. The skirt, with exposed breasts, is never shown in monumental sculpture, but it is worn on vases and other small objects. Beaded garments, so characteristic of women on monuments, are worn only by deities on ceramics.

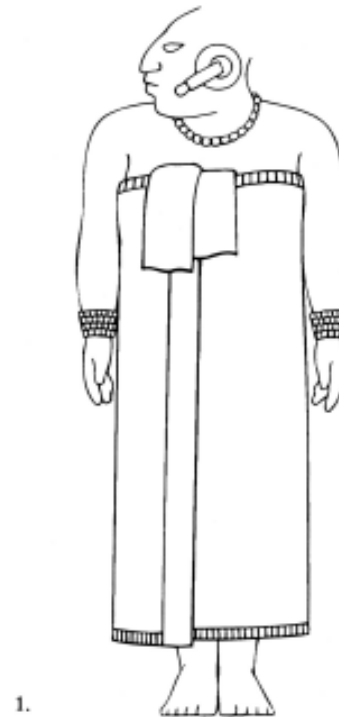
1. *The Sarong*

Females on vases typically wear the sarong, a single piece of cloth wrapped around the figure and tied in front of the chest (Fig. 1) In so far as Tepeu vases reflect the life and activities of the Maya, at least more so than the monuments, the sarong may have been standard daily attire for women.¹³ Some vases depict a variation¹⁴ of the sarong in which one endpiece was draped over the shoulder. The sarong is also shown on figurines from the Peten, where a great many Tepeu vases were probably made, as well as on figurines from Campeche in the

13. Coe 1973: Nos. 27, 29, 32A 2; 1978: No. 7; 1982: No. 49. Kerr 1989: 20, 52, 90; 1990: 267 293.

14. Coe 1973: No. 1. Kerr 1989:90.

15. Clancy et. al. 1985: Nos. 58, 97. Berjonneau et. al. 1985: No. 405.

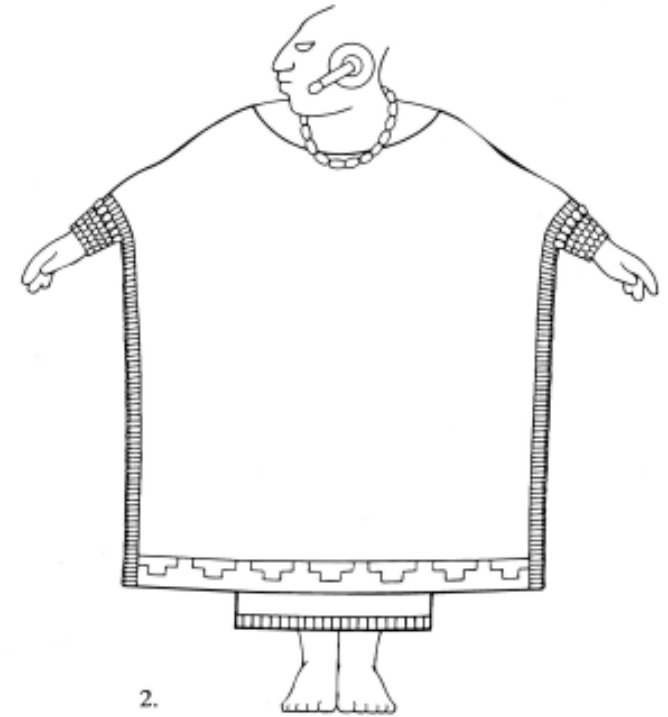


1.

northern lowlands.¹⁵ In the monumental sequence, the sarong is presently known only on the female captive from Monument 99 at Tonina.

2. *The Huipil*

The huipil is second in frequency of appearance on ceramics as a garment for women (Fig. 2). Two vases are known to de-



2.

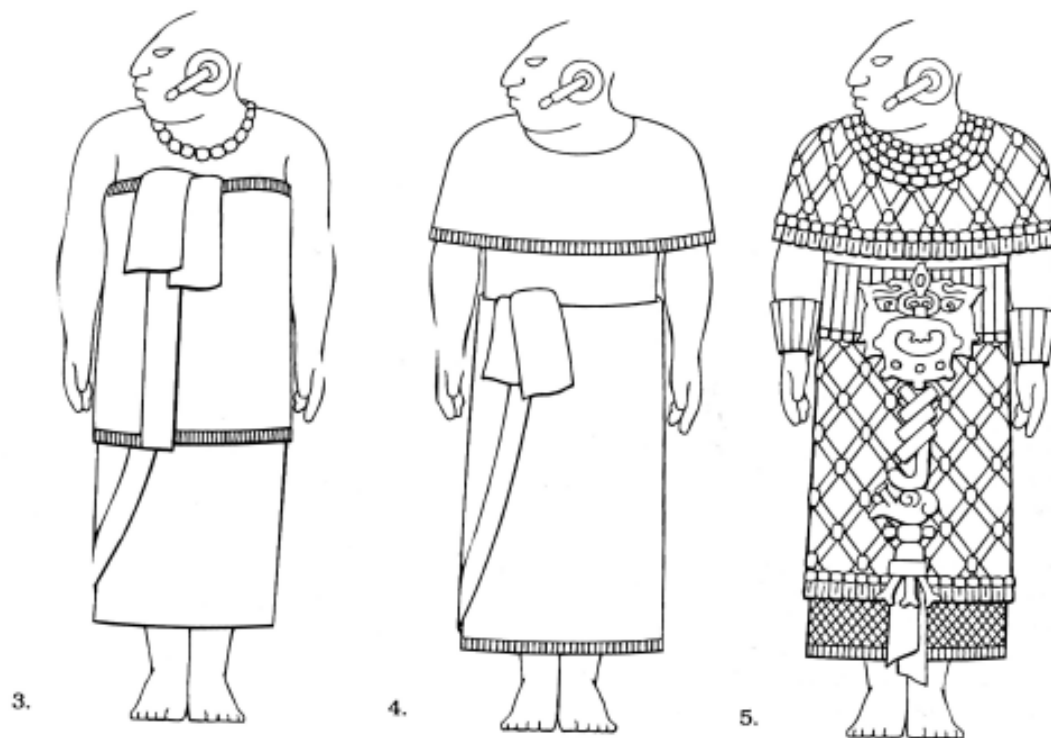
(Drawings by Michael Ross)

pic huipils with complex designs in brocade and embroidery, similar to those shown on monuments of the Late Classic. One vessel discovered in the Mundo Perdido excavations of Tikal, portrays a woman in a pink huipil with a pattern of black embroidered motifs (Kerr 1990: 255). The second vase portrays a Lady of Dos Pilas vis-

iting a lord at Motul de San Jose. She wears a white gauze huipil with a brocaded pattern in black, and a red underskirt (Kerr 1990: 245). Royal women are shown in brocaded gauze huipils in the murals of Bonampak¹⁶ (Miller 1986a: 65).

On these two vessels, it is the attention to the detail of the weave, the patterns, and the finished borders of glyphic motifs which resemble portraits of queens and female *sahals* on monuments. Most huipils worn by women on vases depict resist motifs, solid dyes and rhomboid weaves without inter-

16. *Gauze weaving is a technique still practiced by the Maya. Mary Miller (1986a: 65) suggests that many garments shown on Classic monuments may represent gauze weaves suitable to the Maya tropics.*



rior glyphic Motifs.¹⁷ Gauze huipils with simple and complex patterns, are worn by high-ranking women and goddesses on vases.¹⁸

17. Kerr 1989: 45, 55, 122: 1991: Photo Nos. 3264, 4356 and 4606.

18 Kerr 1990: 245, 252, 255, 272 and 285.

3. The Chest Sash and Skirt

The combination of the chest sash with a skirt is extremely rare (Fig. 3). A single vase portrays two females, or perhaps the same woman shown twice, in skirts with resist circle designs, while the chest sashes appear to have embroidered motifs (Schele and Miller 1986:

Pl. 48).¹⁹ Another example of this costume is shown on a figurine from Campeche, where both the sash and brocaded skirt are painted blue (Clancy et. al. 1985: No. 100). In the monumental sequence, the skirt and chest sash, both preserved as undecorated weaves, are worn on the Tablet of the Slaves at Palenque by the mother of the *sahaL Chac Zutz*, in 722.²⁰

19. Although the authors (Schele and Miller 1986: 188) identify this chest sash as a "body huipil," I follow the terminology of Tatiana Proskouriakoff (1961) who first recognized this garment.

20. Proskouriakoff (1961) thought that this ensemble was worn by female servants behind the thrones of lintels I and 3 at Piedras Negras. The associated texts now reveal that both figures are men. Moreover, the frontal strip of the masculine loincloth is visible on both sculptures. What Proskouriakoff interpreted as a chest sash is actually a textile wrap, worn around the waist by many men on sculptures in the Usumacinta

4. The *Quechquemitl* and Skirt

This ensemble is equally rare in the ceramic sequence (Fig. 4). It is worn by a historical female on a Tepeu 3 carved vessel of the ninth century or later (Kerr 1989: 97). In discussing the woman on this vase, Brian Stross and Justin Kerr (Kerr 1990: 349) describe her attire as "non-Mayan," with the implication that the *quechquemitl* was a Mexican addition to the Maya costume repertory in the terminal Classic.

The *quechquemitl* was a Mexican garment, but its use dates back to Preclassic times in the Valley of Mexico (Cordry and Cordry 1968: 81-82). The Maya adopted it from Teotihuacan in the Early Classic (Taylor 1983: 1: 72). It first appears in the Maya area with superimposed

beadwork on Stela 5 at El Zapote in A.D. 434 (Easby and Scott 1970: No. 170).

5. The Beaded Garment

Tatiana Proskouriakoff's (1961) study of female dress determined that the beaded *quechquemitl* and skirt were typical of women on monuments in the Peten, as well as at Palenque (Fig. 5). However, on Classic ceramics Tzakol and Tepeu 1-2 phases, beaded garments are worn only by the moon goddess and members of her supernatural family.

6. The Skirt

The skirt with exposed breasts is never shown in the monumental sequence (Fig. 6). It is fairly common on vases, and is worn by a female goddess nicknamed Dragon Lady (Robiscek and Hales 1981). She characteristi-

cally appears on codex vessels entwined in a vision serpent which emanates from God K, and produces an aged deity who resembles God N.²¹ Dragon Lady normally wears a white skirt with horizontal bands, which represent sections of white weaves stitched together.²²

New decipherment of Classic texts indicate that the vision serpent was often the *way* (co-essence) of God K, and sometimes of the woman who produced it. The serpent was, thus, a metaphor for the birth of the figure that emerged from it

21. Robiscek and Hales 1981: Vases 8, 10, 12a. Parsons et. al. 1988. No. 66.

22 Similar white banded garments are also worn by male figures on vases. They are not indicative of sex or supernatural status.

23. Robiscek and Hales 1981: Vessels 9, 11, 12a.



6.

(Drawing by Michael Ross)

(Houston and Stuart 1989). Some vessel scenes with Dragon Lady have texts which record the birth of the aged figure in the serpents jaws.²³

Dragon Lady also appears in supernatural palace scenes in the contexts of bloodletting and serpent visions.²⁴ Despite numerous portrayals of Dragon

Lady, her identity remains unknown. Apart from the banded skirt, she doesn't seem to have any distinguishing features. Her hair is variously coiffed, tied up in ribbons, knotted clusters, or worn long, like other women shown on vases. Moreover, Dragon Lady appears once, coiled in a vision serpent wearing a white skirt with circular embroidered designs; and on another vision serpent vessel, she is nude.²⁵ She may be shown in other vases as well, but she can be securely identified only by her white-banded skirt.

24. Coe 1973: No. 43. Kerr 1990: 285. Robiscek and Hales 1981: Vessel 68. The published drawing of the Grolier vase (Coe 1973: No.43) omits the horizontal bands of Dragon Lady's skirt, but they are visible in the associated photographs.

25. Robiscek and Hales 1981: Vessels 11. Kerr 1990:210.

THE MOON GODDESS

Dragon Lady highlights the difficulties one encounters in tracing the appearance of women on vases. Among the females portrayed, most seem to be goddesses because they occur in supernatural scenes; but they do not have distinct features, and they change their clothes. More can be said about the moon goddess. Although she changes her garments frequently, she has specific attributes. The following commentary is restricted to vessels where there is a glyphic text or a specific trait that identifies her.

There remain tantalizing scenes of women who cavort with the maize god and attend to aged deities, but none of these females can be identified as the moon goddess. Further re-

search will, I expect, reveal the moon goddess as the female associated with Tepeu vessel scenes involving deer and the death of an aged deity named 7 Ahau.²⁶ Some of these vases include the crossed-bands sign (T552) that appears in codical texts with the Postclassic moon goddess, and in two Tepeu inscriptions concerning the Classic moon lady.²⁷ Postclassic myths associate the moon with deer as well as rabbits.²⁸ This study focuses upon a discreet corpus of vessels in order to avoid assumptions of the past that every young woman with an aged deity represented the moon goddess.

26. Robiscek and Hales 198 1: *Vessels 14,15,16*. Kerr 1990:293.

27. Robiscek and Hales 1981: *Fig.40b*. Clarkson 1979: *Mg. 5*.

28. Schele and Miller 1983:46.77 Thompson 1972a: 243,357-373.

Eric Thompson (1939, 1972a and 1972b) assembled a great deal of research on the moon goddess, based upon the codices of the Postclassic and ethnographic information. He recognized (1939) that Schellhas' Goddesses I and O were not separate deities, but young and old aspects of the moon goddess. His research concluded (1972a) that the moon goddess of the Postclassic Maya was a female deity of procreation, and by association, one of lust and carnal sin, a goddess of disease and medicine, the patroness of weaving, the personification of the moon, and a goddess of water, who in her aged form was a malevolent destructor who flooded the earth. Some of these Postclassic concepts can be verified in the Tepeu ceramic sequence of the Late Classic.

Classic ceramics and other small products reveal that the ancient Maya believed in male and female lunar deities. The Classic moon god and goddess have lunar crescents hooked under their arms or attached to their backs, and rabbits often appear with them (Schele and Miller 1986: Pl. 12 1; Kerr 1989: 20). Linguistic evidence from Classic Maya texts suggests that the rabbit represented the face of the moon, and was also associated with young children (Schele and Miller 1983: 46). In one instance, the moon goddess is shown with a shell on her back, which she sometimes has in the Dresden Codex (Kerr 1989: 10; Thompson 1972b: 53). Eric Thompson (1972b) related this shell to Postclassic Mexican concepts of the moon goddess, but more examples from the Maya area are needed

before drawing any conclusions.

The male lunar deity of the Classic Maya is identified glyphically²⁹ by the *kal* moon sign (T683), combined with the Ahau lord glyph. This nominal phrase is sometimes followed by the Imix sign, which further names the “moon lord” as a water god (Kerr 1989: 10 and 90). The moon lord is one of several incised figures on an Early Classic conch shell where he wears a beaded hipcloth, as he does again on a Late Classic vessel (Schele and Miller 1986: Pl. 120 and 121.³⁰ Although some vases portray the moon lord as a youthful deity he is more typically shown as an aged god (Kerr 1989: 90; Robiscek and Hales 1981: Fig. 9b and Vessel 140.

29. Robiscek and Hales 1981:Fig.9b and Vessel 140. Schele and Miller 1986. PL 121. Kerr 1990:252.

The moon goddess is shown in a beaded skirt on a polychrome vase (Robiscek and Hales 1981: Fig. 48). She is not named, but has the lunar crescent of her male counterpart tucked under her arm. The profile view shows her breast, and the skirt covers the knees, like the skirts worn by women on monuments. The moon goddess is additionally marked by a lunar crescent around her eye. Other women on vases have horizontal bands across the eye or vertical lines that cut through the eye; only the moon goddess has an eye marked by a circular crescent (Kerr 1990: 272; Robiscek and

30. Karl Taube (1988) has discussed this figure as a dually sex identity on the basis of the beaded skirt, which is normally worn by women in the monumental sequence. It is not, however, a skirt In the Classic Period, male figures wore hip cloths which fell at or above the knee.

Hales 1981: pps. 48 and 68). The motif is so exclusive to this female supernatural that a historical woman is marked with it because her name includes the moon goddess title (Kerr 1990: 245).

The moon goddess is glyphically identified by the T683 lunar *kal* sign, and the T1000 title used to introduce female names in Classic *texts*.³¹ This nominal phrase is quite different from codical references to the moon goddess based upon T1026 (Thompson 1972b: 47). Most frequently portrayed as a youthful goddess, the Classic “moon lady” has the same coiffure of the Postclassic Goddess I, long

31. Kerr 1989: 90. Coe 1978: No. 7. Robiscek and Hales 1981: Fig. 9b.

32. Dresden Codex: 14c, 15b, 16b,c. Madrid Codex: 11a, 72a, 89a, 91-91d.

hair divided into front and rear sections by a part or shaven area from ear to ear over the top of the head (Kerr 1989: 20 and 90).³² However, similar hair appears on other Classic females.³³ In her aged aspect, moon lady’s hair is cut into a ruff on the crown of the head (Kerr 1989: 20), as is that of other mature women on vases.³⁴ Nonetheless, she has the serpent bow head gear of the Postclassic Goddess 0 (Clarkson 1979: Fig. 5; Kerr 1989: 20).³⁵

33. Coe 1973: Nos. 27, 32. Robiscek and Hales 1981: Vessels 12a, 79. Kerr 1990: 293.

34. Kerr 1989: 33, 45; 1990: 245. Schele- and Miller 1986: Pl. 48.

35. Dresden Codex: 61a, 74a. Madrid Codex: 30b, 69b, 89d.

The moon lady also wears a variety of garments, including skirts, huipils, and sarongs, like other women on Classic vases. Postclassic codices depict the moon goddess more consistently dressed; she wears a textile skirt in her youthful guise and a longer skirt reaching to her ankles in her aged aspect. Thus, there is little correspondence in dress, physical appearance, or nominal phrasing, among Classic and Postclassic depictions of the Moon Goddess. Moon Lady is dressed, coiffed and referred to in accordance with Classic conventions for the female sex. Her importance is better discerned by examining the contexts in which she appears.

The lunar couple appear together on a polychrome vase, with lunar crescents hooked

under their arms, and short texts that identify each figure (Robiscek and Hales 1981: Fig. 9b). On this vessel, the moon lord wears a white hipcloth, and a distinctive turban. The Moon Goddess has a white huipil with designs in the lower portion of the weave. On another vessel, the Moon God has the same white hipcloth and turban, and he fondles the breast of the Moon Goddess, who wears a sarong (Robiscek and Hales 1981: vessel 140). The rest of the scene suggests a story in which the moon lord is transformed into a deer for the full disrobing and seduction of the Moon Goddess, all of which probably has less to do with sex than with the phases of the moon.

The Dresden Codex of the Postclassic has similar presen-

tations of the Moon Goddess with male deities, especially aged gods. In what seems to scenes of sexual intercourse; but Eric Thompson (1972b:60) suggested that such unions referred to conjunctions of the moon with constellations represented by the male supernaturals. Furthermore, sexual intercourse is not possible in the seated, face to face position of the Dresden moon goddess and her male companions. Eric Thompson seems to have been correct in his conclusion that these couplings are personifications of astronomical phenomena.

Correspondingly, what appears to be seduction scenes on Late Classic vases are probably similar presentations of astronomical events, as on a

polychrome vessel where the Moon Goddess, marked by her eye crescent, is fondled by an aged god (Robiscek and Hales 1981: Fig.68). The two figures are joined face to face, as in the Dresden Codex, and the Moon Goddess has extended her leg to touch her companion. Although they appear to be engaged in sexual intercourse, the sexual connotations of this presentation were probably intended as a pun upon the procreative power of the Moon Goddess.

Another vase depicts a seemingly seductive scene involving three women with rabbits (Kerr 1989:20). The female on the right is the young Moon Goddess, dressed in a sarong and marked by a cursively rendered eye crescent. In the middle of the vessel, the moon

goddess bares her breast and interacts with a rabbit. The aged moon goddess appears on the left, and she has the bow hair ornament of the Postclassic Goddess O (*Madrid Codex*- 102c and d; *Dresden Codex*. 21a). This vase seems to represent a narrative progression from new moon to old.

Multiple views of the moon goddess with God N figures appear on a vessel that shows the descent of the moon into the Underworld at dawn (Kerr 1989: 90). The moon goddess is lowered through a skyband into the Underworld, where she ends up with the aged moon lord, who sits behind her on a jaguar-skin throne. There are other vases that depict the moon goddess with aged deities, but the significance of these scenes is unclear (Coe 1978: No. 7; Kerr 1989: 52).

Iconographically, in terms of understanding the significance of the moon goddess, the most important vases depict her in scenes of blood sacrifice. She appears on a codex vessel, marked by her crescent eye motif, with one of the Hero Twins. He holds a vision serpent before the moon goddess, who has a perforator and has apparently just completed a bloodletting rite (Kerr 1990: 272). Another vessel depicts a bloodletting ritual in which a deer deity vomits blood into the hands the aged moon goddess (Clarkson 1979: Fig. 5). Of the two figures seated on the throne, the rear female is the young moon goddess, marked by her crescent eye motif.

The Postclassic Popol Vuh, explains the role of the moon goddess in bloodletting scenes on

Late Classic ceramics. In the Popol Vuh the head of the decapitated maize god, *Hun Hunahpu* impregnates a young maiden from the Underworld by spitting into her hand. Her name *Is Xquic*, which is usually translated as “Blood Woman,” but there is linguistic evidence that it also means “moon” (Tedlock 1985: 328). What more fertile union could exist, mythologically speaking, than one between maize and the moon?

The resulting children were the Hero Twins, *Hunahpú* and *Xbalanqué*, who in turn sacrificed themselves at the beginning of the present era to become the sun and the moon. *Xbalanqué*, “the little jaguar sun,” became the moon god. The fact that he is named on the Early Classic conch shell as “Jaguar moon lord” (Schele and Miller 1986:

309) reveals that the *Popol Vuh* story was current in the Classic Period. The *Popol Vuh* explains why the Classic Maya believed in male and female lunar deities. Most important, it associates the moon goddess with blood and fertility. As the wife of the maize god, moon lady was Blood Woman, the progenitor female.

Karl Taube (1985) first identified the maize god on ceramics as Hun *Hunahpú* the father of the Hero Twins. The maize god wears a great deal of jade as jewelry and as a network of beads over his hipcloth which Karl Taube (1985: 174) interpreted as symbolic of new green maize, and, in general, of the fertility of the earth. In the monumental sequence, beaded garments are typical of high ranking women (Proskouriakoff 196 1), and

were occasionally worn by rulers engaged in bloodletting rites (Schele 1979).

The only figures who wear beaded garments on Tzakol and Tepeu 1-2 vases belong to the supernatural family of the moon goddess, including the moon lady (Blood Woman), the maize god, and the Hero Twins. Moon lady wears a beaded skirt on a vessel scene with an aged deity (Robiscek and Hales 198 1: Fig. 48). Moon lord wears a beaded hipcloth (Schele and Miller 1986: Pl. 120 and 121; Robiscek and Hales 1981: Vessel 18). The maize god wears a beaded hipcloth, and the feminine beaded quechquemitl (Kerr 1989: 103). Both Hero Twins are shown in beaded hipcloths and quechquemitl (Kerr 1989: 65).

The maize god has additional dress motifs typically worn by women in the monumental sequence: the quadripartite emblem and the xoc-spondylus shell belt (Taube 1985). Although both designs are related to bloodletting, only the quadripartite emblem has been successfully analyzed as a sacrificial motif (Schele 1979; Stuart 1988). It is often worn as headgear or as a back device by women on monuments. In the ceramic sequence, the moon goddess wears it on her back in the vision rite previously discussed (Kerr 1990:272). Early and Late Classic ceramics present the maize god with the quadripartite complex (Schele and Miller 1986: Pl. 75; Kerr 1989:103).

The xoc shark glyph and spondylus shell were normally

worn together by the maize god as a belt ornament on ceramics (Taube 1985: 172). This belt is associated with beaded garments on monuments, costumes primarily worn by historical women, and occasionally by males in bloodletting rites. In other contexts, spondylus shells were used by the Classic Maya as receptacles for sacrificial blood. They are held out for drops of captive blood by the royal women in the murals of Bonampak Room 2), by a sahal in the scattering rite on lintel 2 from La Pasadita, and by the war captain on a lintel from the Yaxchilán area (Schele and Miller 1986: Pl. 86).

Since the spondylus was usually scraped by the Maya to reveal its interior reddish color, it probably symbolized the female womb. Kings wore symbolic pe-

nises in the form of perforators over their genitals, and referred to themselves in texts as “penis lord” (Jones 1989). ‘Me spondylus was the female counterpart to this fundamental emphasis on the sexual organs. I want to emphasize here that most figures wearing this belt on monuments are not men, but women: on ceramics, only the maize god wears it (Kerr 1989: 28 and 38).

The xoc element is held by a man at Palenque in the sacrificial scene on Pier C of House D. A full-figured xoc zoomorph climbs up the vision serpent on the Hauberg Stela. These presentations indicate that the xoc motif was related to sacrifice. At the same time, xoc probably meant “count,” its usual meaning as a glyph in Classic texts, because women kept

calendars when they were expecting a child. Indeed, the 260 day count was probably invented by women in Mesoamerica. for this purpose (Miller 1986b:39).³⁶

The xoc-shell belt seems to have represented counting missed days of blood (menstruation) until the birth of a child, an event usually painful and always bloody. Childbirth must have been regarded by the Maya as a sacrifice performed by women to renew the human cycle of life. Even ritual self-sacrifice was conceptually a female act, one that nourished the gods, “... much as a mother suckles her child” (Schele 1979: 46). The beaded hipcloths and xoc-shell

36. In Post Classic times, the 260 day count was called the *xoc kin*, meaning “count of days” (Boffes 1990:87).

belts worn by men for such rites were perhaps intended to dress them like the maize god; but there are examples of male rulers wearing feminine attire for bloodletting ceremonies.³⁷

In the Tepeu sequence, the most important sacrificial scene involving moon lady depicts the resurrection of the maize god (Fig.7). The Hero Twins appear on this vessel carrying a bowl with the jade beads and diadems of their father; according to the Popol Vuh, they dressed the maize god after his resurrection. To the left, the maize

37. King Chaan-Muan of Bonampak wears a huipil in the tongue perforation ceremony in the murals of Structure 1. At Caracol, the ruler of Stela I wears a beaded hipcloth and feminine quechquemilt for a bloodletting ceremony recorded in the short text below.

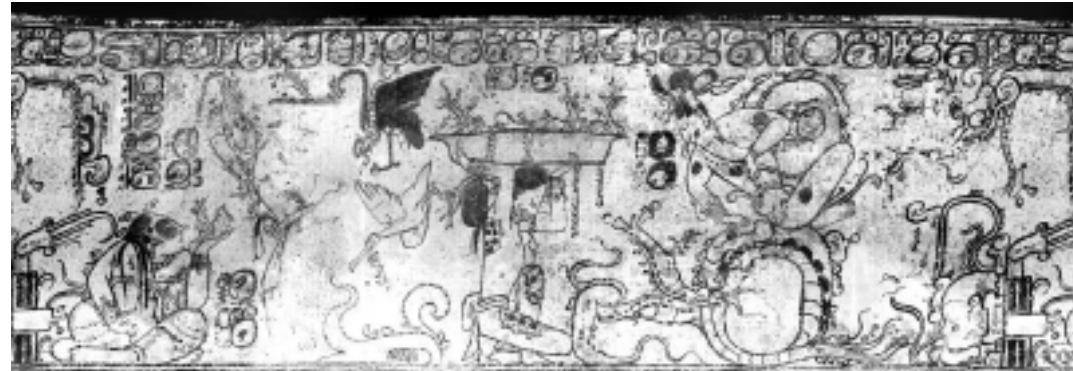


Figure 7. The Resurrection of the Maize God (Coe in Kerr 1989: Mg. 27. Kerr F11e No. 1004)

god stands, naked, about to perforate his penis in celebration of his rebirth. His wife, Blood Woman (moon lady), sits before him, marked by an emphatic crescent eye motif. She offers him a xoc head and spondylus shell. These motifs symbolize the maize god's "birth" through the help of the moon goddess. The maize god subsequently wore them on his belt because he gave "birth" to

new maize and thus renewed the cycle of earthly fertility.

In summary, the moon goddess is one of few female deities who can be identified on vases by specific attributes, including her lunar eye crescent, underarm crescent and rabbit; and she is named on vessels. There are two contexts in which the moon goddess seems to appear. Some vessels depict her in what ap-

pear to be sexual scenes, but like similar presentations in Postclassic codices, the vases personify astronomical events and phases of the moon. These scenes provide evidence that the Classic moon lady had "illicit" affairs and was generally associated with wanton behavior. A second group of vessels depicts the moon goddess in scenes of blood sacrifice. The Popol Vuh reveals that the moon goddess was Blood Woman, an association which explains her presence in bloodletting rites on Tepeu ceramics. Blood Woman was the progenitor female, and for the same reason, the moon goddess of the Classic Maya.

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A NAME GLYPH FOR CLASSIC MAYA DWARFS

STEPHEN D. HOUSTON

Several years ago Justin Kerr photographed an unusual Maya effigy vessel that showed an even more unusual figure; a short limbed or achondroplastic dwarf, deeply modeled and richly clothed with arms hunched forward (Fig. 1).¹ The text painted within a mat design on the side of the vessel would seem to provide some hope of identifying the dwarf. Unfortunately, it does not. The glyphs are difficult to understand, and relatively little of the text falls into a legible or easily recognizable pattern. Who, then, is our dwarf, and what role did he play in Maya society and belief.

1. *The effigy vessel is now, or was until recently in the collection of The Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino, Santiago de Chile (Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino 1983: #004 1),*



A partial answer to this question comes from other examples in Maya Art, particularly those of the Late Classic period, to which the dwarf effigy dates. (Virtually no dwarfs appear in Early Classic art). An excellent study

by Virginia Miller tabulates representations of dwarfs, ranging from those wearing little ornament to those with elaborate dress, and varying from depictions of midgets, who are otherwise normally proportioned, to

hunchbacks (Miller 1985). Her conclusion is that most dwarfs are not so much mythological as historical, in the sense that they once lived in Maya dynastic centers (Miller 1985: 153). Yet the dwarfs on Maya vases in the corpus show that this is not always so. Many humpbacked and stunted figures cavort and dance with beings who are obviously supernatural, including the Maize God (Taube 1985) and Hun Ahaw. Another vase (Kerr No. 1560) places dwarfs in a narrative involving the theft of God L's headdress. Unfortunately, the name glyphs of these dwarfs have yet to reveal their secrets.

In describing different kinds of dwarfs, Miller also notes the existence of elaborately dressed figures with Jaguar kilts and jade jewelry. The costume and

jewelry are noteworthy, for they resemble the dress worn by members of the Maya elite (Miller 1985: 148). What Miller does not observe is that these dwarfs have glyphic names, as do a number of other deformed and stunted human beings. By using both iconographic and epigraphic evidence, this paper focuses on kilted dwarfs and their name glyphs, which have, until now, eluded detection.

THE DWARF

The kilted dwarf has several features that help distinguish it from other misshapen beings in Maya art (cf. Coe 1978, 99). First, the dwarf often stands in profile at the feet of a lord or lady. Invariably, it is positioned to viewer's left, and faces viewer's right. Second, as Miller observes, the dwarf wears ar-

ticles of dress that are similar to the apparel of rulers, including earspools with tubular plugs, fringed capes, kilts of Jaguar hide or possibly of a smaller cat, bracelets, necklaces as well as assemblages of plaques beneath representations of human heads. Their headdresses consistently show a forward sweeping arrangement of cloth, fastened by a conical knot just above the forehead. Third, the dwarf grasps hafted objects that apparently have soft tips ([Fig. 2](#)). Painted details on the ceramic effigy dwarf photographed by Kerr indicates that these tips may consist of feathers ([Fig. 1](#)). A final feature appears in only two examples. It consists of caban markings on the sash that enfolds the dwarf's waist ([Fig. 3](#)). Often associated with deer, these curls may signal carnality, filth, or earth (Karl Taube,



Figure 2. *El Peru Stela 34*
9.13.0.0.0 (after Marcus
1976: Frontispiece)

[BACK](#)

personal communication, 1980) ²
Similar associations between
earth and dwarfs are docu-
mented among Tzotzil, Chontal
Maya, and Yucatec speakers,
who describe dwarfs as
“earth-farters” (Karasik 1988:
273; Miller 1985: 143; Thomp-
son 1970: 347)³

The ladies and lords who ap-
pear with dwarfs also wear dis-
tinctive clothing. More than half

2. Miller also notes the association
between deer and dwarfs. (Miller
1986: Figures 5 and 6).



Figure 3. *Drawing of a stela fragment*,
Motul de San José
(after photograph, courtesy Kevin Johnston)

uch as the observance of katun
or hotun endings. Indeed, the
dwarfs and the costumes of the
individuals they attend prob-
ably represent integral parts of
these rituals.

THE DWARF'S NAME GLYPH

In the codices certain names ap-
pear consistently with super-
natural figures, allowing
epigraphers to identify the
glyphs of particular gods. The
same is true of the kilted dwarf.
At least six dwarfs with glyphic

have beaded jade skirts, as well
as headdresses with the
so-called quadripartite badge
(Kubler 1969). Many lords hold
God K scepters or their func-
tional equivalents. In addition
to wearing beaded pectorals
with trilobate ends.⁴ These pec-
torals correlate well with the
major period ending celebra-
tions,

3. The “star-dwarfs” on Yaxchilan
Hieroglyphic Stairway Z Step VZT,
show volutes extruding from their
backsides (Graham 1982: 3:161).
Could these markings represent
flatulence?

4. Glyphic clues suggest that the Jag-
uar with “plumed speech” and the
Chac held by rulers at
Xultun are related semantically or
metaphorically to God K scepters.
Note especially the use of “manikin
scepter” glyph” first identified by Pe-
ter Mathews - to describe objects at
Xultun (cf. Schele 1982: 173, and von
Euw 1978: 58:23, A3; von Euw and
Graham 1964: 5:88, A3).

captions accompany a compound with the following elements: T24.74:564v (Figs. 4a-4f). Another example of the compound appears to the viewer's left of an individual wearing a trilobate pectoral and grasping a God K scepter (Mayer 1984: Plate 17 1). Although the bottom portion of the image is now missing, three pieces of evidence suggest that the sculpture once displayed a dwarf. First, the uppermost section of the dwarfs headdress appears just above the fracture line of the monument. Second, the clothing of the lord pictured on the stela accords with the attire of other figures with dwarfs. Third, the sign preceding the glyph greatly resembles one of the name glyphs of a dwarf portrayed on an unprovenanced vase from Yucatan (Figs. 5a, 5b), on a carved panel from Yax-

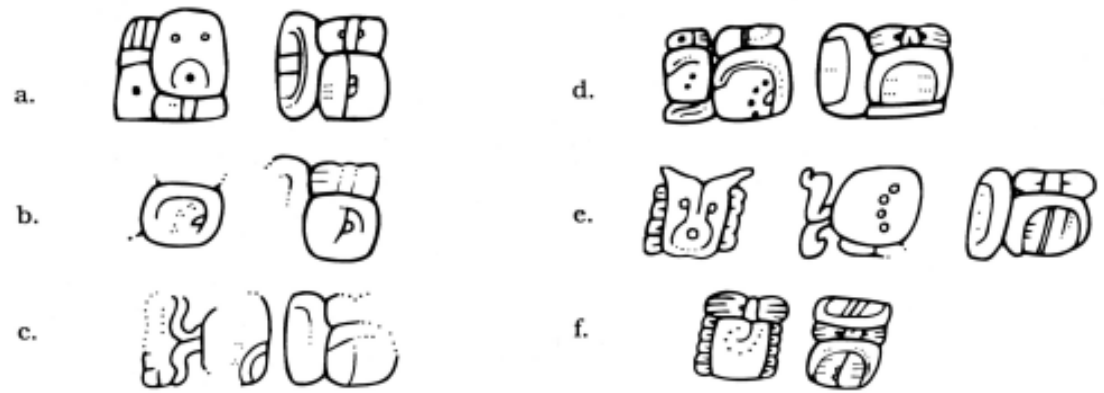


Figure 4a. Dos Pilas Stela 15, GI-G2

b. El Peru Stela 34, 11 -12 (after museum drawing by author)

c. Xultun Stela 24, 1? (after von Euw 1984: 84)

d. Xultun Stela 25, ATA9 (after von Euw 1984:88)

e. Calakmul Stela 89, HT-1 1 (after Ruppert and Denison 1943: pl.53b)

L Stela in Saenz collection, Mexico EI-E2 (after Mayer 1984: pl. 171).

chilán (Figs. 5c, 5d; Graham 1982:3:160, U1; note also the Cholan spelling of “dwarf,” ch’a-t(a)), and on an unpublished and fragmented stela from the site of Motul de San Jos6, Guatemala (Fig. 3). It may be that this sign, a dotted curlicue, describes dwarfs or deformed persons in general.⁵ It thus contrasts with the T24.74:564v compound, which probably names

a special class of dwarf.

Another pattern occurs on Dos Pilas Stela 15, where an initial sign perhaps refers to the personal name of the dwarf, and a second represents his formal

5. Nikolai Grube suggests to me that this is a sign for “hunchbacks,” p’us in several lowland languages. However, at least one dwarf with the sign is not a hunchback, so the argument is less compelling than it might be.

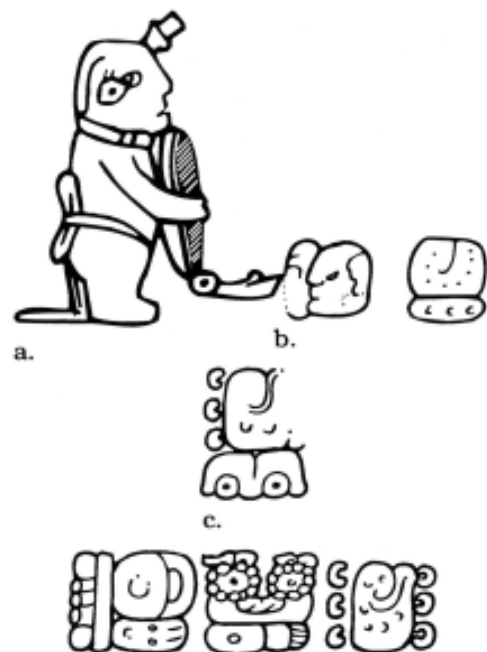


Figure 5.

a. Dwarf holding possible mirror (after Coe 1973:58); K5110

b. Name glyph of dwarf (after Coe 1973:58); K5110

c. Portion of dwarf's name from Yaxchilan Hieroglyphic Stairway 2. Step VII U1 (after Graham 1982:160);

d. Dwarf's name from Yaxchilan Hieroglyphic Stairway 2. Step VII, VI-XI (after Graham 1982:3:160). renderings have been corrected from photographs

H1-K1

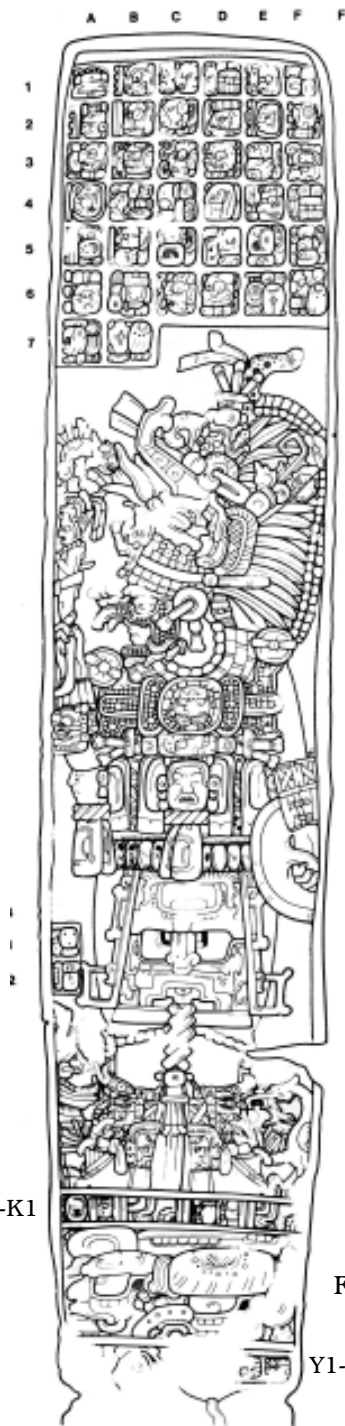


Figure 6. Dos Pilas Stela 15, 9.14.10.4. 0 (after field drawing by author)

Y1-Z1

title (Fig. 6; see also Fig. 4a). Such personal names are attested in other cases, many with cauac glyphs, of which at least one, on El Peru Stela 34, spells a-k(u), "dwarf" in many lowland Mayan Languages (Fig. 4b; Graham 1988: 124). These signs may constitute the personal names of dwarfs, or perhaps some of their other titles. The variability suggests that in some cases dwarfs were not so much generic emblems,



Figure 7. a and b. Skull logograph and its allograph (after Mathews 1979). c. Name glyph of Death God (Schellhas 1904: 10).

as individuals who performed a prominent, if carefully defined role at court. We may also speculate that the wealth of dwarf glyphs reflects the importance of dwarfs in elite society, since the Maya sought to describe them with a rich and only partly deciphered set of terms.

The problem remains of deciphering the general name of the kilted dwarf. Jeffrey Miller argued that the initial sign represented a mirror or, more abstractly, concepts such as “shining” or “resplendent” (Schele and Miller 1983: 20). The second and third glyphs evidently alternate with a skull sign, indicating that the signs are semantically or phonetically equivalent (Figs. 7a 7b, Mathews 1979). On present evidence, the phonetic elements would appear to spell ma-s(u), mas, or *duende*, 1.

goblin, fright” in Yucatec Maya (Barrera Vásquez *et al.* 1980: 502). Interestingly, this combination of mirror and skull sign also forms the name of Schellhas ‘God A2, a death god found in the codices (Fig. 7c, Schellhas 1904: 10). From this it would seem that the kilted dwarf was a sinister creature, with some features akin to a death god. It may not be a coincidence that some modern Maya groups locate dwarfs in the same place as the dead (Miller 1985: 143), nor do I think it purely by chance that the dwarf effigy on vase No. 1456 has a dark face, precisely the characteristic of underworld dwarfs described by the Tzeltal Maya (Villa Rojas 1946: 570).

CONCLUSION

Who then, is our dwarf? He appears to have worn a consistent uniform, and to have had both a general glyph and, in the case of some of his “brethren,” idiosyncratic name glyphs. There are clues that he was a sinister, possibly cthonic being, with close ties to the earth and to period ending rituals. And, more important for future research, his glyphs are only partly deciphered. Further work on these signs, including those from the enigmatic text on the effigy vessel, should tell us more about a figure who is grand in dress, humble in stature, and fascinating for his incongruous presence in the elegant courts of the Classic Maya.

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